

PAKISTAN AND THE NATIONALITIES' NOTION



IKRAM AZAM

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DEDICATION

**THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED
TO
THE YOUTH OF PAKISTAN
ITS FUTURE LEADERSHIP**

CHAPTER 1

The Nationalities Bogy

Introduction

Occasionally, among other things, Pakistan has come to be known in some circles at home and abroad, as a nation of sentimental extremists who indulge in and get carried away by rumours and gossip. Indeed, hear-say and whispering campaigns have manifested themselves not just as situational givens and facts but also as motivational and manipulative factors in the socio-political process. One manifestation and result of the afore-mentioned sentimentalist trait is to jump to conclusions without sufficient reason. Another is, either an obvious, simplistic approach to, or an over-complicated, zealously suspicious attitude in evaluating, national and international issues. Euphoria and obscurantism are other die-hards that have made confusion worse confounded.

All the above behavioural attitudes and patterns have revealed themselves also in Pakistan's handling of the nationalities bogy. In brief, it has been blamed generally on one or two 'enemies and enemy agents', a couple of causes and a definite and recent period of time. The truth, however, is neither that simple nor so recent.

The Origin And Genesis

of the nationalities bogy are as old as the Muslim nation, itself, of the so-called Indo-Pak. sub-continent. For as long as the Muslim nation has existed in this region, efforts have been made to deny its legitimate recognition and to negate and split it

up by bluff and bamboozle, confusion and conflict. More specifically, the notion is contemporaneous in birth and origins with the Two-Nation Theory. No sooner had the Muslims articulated their awareness of their distinct and separate identity, the Hindus and their British benefactors began to confuse the issue. In a sense, the generalisation is quite correct that the British could not quite reconcile themselves to the division of their lost Indian Empire, for they wished to hand it over intact to the major successor power. Likewise, and for greater reasons, the Hindus have never really accepted the de-jure and de-fact reality of 'the vivisection of their Mother India'. Therefore, especially in recent times, as the tools and instruments of subversion, propaganda and cold and psy-war got perfected, after the Second World War, with applied psychology and mass media of communication, Indian and foreign propagandists turned strategists continued with their unabated ideological subversion of the Two-Nation Theory and the Islamic nation of Pakistan.

Thus, the nationalities bogy has been in existence for a long time. Its forms, manifestations and strategy have changed according to its requirements, with time, place, circumstance and the situational hazards and challenges. Sometimes it has got underground or lay dormant and at others, it has been actively at play. But it has been quite persistent and purposive. In fact, it has been said that plans to undo Pakistan were well-timed with plans to make it ; and studies on the disintegration (—and not just the viability) of Pakistan were made even before its creation. Muslim separatist feelings, trends and movements have always been resisted with thunder and fury.

Many Causes ; Many Factors

In any phenomenon so complex and awe-inspiring as the birth and decline of a nation, it is puerile to look for simple and single causational factors. There is often a multiplicity and

complexity of causes. This is also true of the nationalities bug in Pakistan. And there are equally numerous landmarks and time-tunnels involved. Before going into these - and I would rather enumerate and touch them briefly at this stage than carry out a detailed analysis—we might summarily recapitulate, first, the main cause of the propaganda of the nationalities bane, i.e. the Two Nation Theory, and then, the essential contention of the bogey itself.

The Two Nation Theory

This, too, is as old as the Muslims in undivided India. For the two major Indian nations (Muslim and Hindu) have always conflicted even as they coexisted, sometimes peacefully, down the ages. But the theory was somewhat sub-liminal or subconscious till the War of Independence of 1857, after which it reached the threshold level. The various founders of its ideology and founding fathers of Pakistan, notably Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Ch. Rahmat Ali and Allama Iqbal, made it the theme and substance of their political creed. But the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah is acknowledged to be its most vocal spokesman. Let us then, articulate it succinctly in his language, which establishes that Muslim separatism was the only sure way to ensure Muslim independence from a permanently Hindu majority.

The Quaid's Verdict

In his Presidential Address to the 27th session of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore from 22nd to 24th March, 1940, the Quaid-e-Azam had declared Pakistan's *raison d'être* as follows :—

“The Musalmans are not a minority. The Musalmans are a nation by any definition.....We find that even according to the British map of India, we occupy large parts of this country where the Musalmans are in the majority—such as Bengal, Punjab, NWFP, Sind and Baluchistan. The question of Hindu-Muslim

unity...I am inclined to think that it is neither possible nor practical. The problem in India is not of an inter-communal but manifestly of an international character. The only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands, by dividing India into 'autonomous national states'....The real nature of Islam and Hinduism....They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders. The Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literatures,...to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions....Musalmans are not a minority...Musalmans are a nation according by any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people...."

"We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and tradition, aptitude and ambitions, in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law, we are a Nation".¹

Although the Quaid-e-Azam articulated the Two-Nation Theory in the above terms in 1940, as stated earlier, the theory itself was as old as the belligerent interplay and bellicose coexistence of the two nations themselves. For it is the quint-essential epitome of Muslim self-consciousness and national self-determination.

1. The Quaid-e-Azam cited in : "Presidential Government In Pakistan" by Prof, Rafi Anwar. Pub. : Caravan Book House, Lahore 1967.

The Nationalities Bogy

This bogy, too, in spirit and essence, is equally old, though its forms and manifestations, arguments and instruments, have varied with the times and objective conditions. However, its main contention, chain of thought and line of argument seems to have been as follows :

In the first instance, all the then (pre-partition) Indians formed one large Indian nation—despite their racial and ethnic, cultural and linguistic, historical and regional, religious and secular, political and economic differences. If, on the other hand, the Muslim Two Nation Theory were accepted for argument's sake, then the Muslims themselves formed not a single nation but so many smaller nationalities, because of their regional, cultural, racial and linguistic distinctions.

The irony in this nationalities bogy is that it rubs and cuts both ways. Because what can be true of smaller and less regional Pakistan, is even more true of colossal, divisive and parochial India !

Just as there is no single author of the Two Nation Theory, there is none of the Nationalities Bogy, either. In a sense, the former can partly be attributed to the Hindus themselves, for they contributed to Muslim national consciousness and self-determination by their vehement opposition of the legitimate Muslim rights and demands. The Nationalities Notion, on the other hand, has allegedly many foster fathers, i.e. the militant Indians, the elusive British, the vague West, some rather unneighbourly neighbours a few Pakistani malcontents and the break-away East Pakistanis. We shall discuss their views and role in the next chapter or two. For the present, we might attempt to weigh the implications of the said stunt. Let it, however, be conceded her that Pakistan itself is partly to blame for this, for three main reasons : (i) It either offended others, perhaps inadvertently at times ; or did not cultivate friends. (ii) It did

little to counter the adverse alien propaganda against itself.
 (iii) Pakistan made few efforts to build its own image abroad.

Implications of the Nationalities Bogy

Why 'Bogy' ?

Why do we call it a bogy in Pakistan, while its creators would term it at least as the 'nationalities issue'? The main reasons are :

- (i) The popular point of view, which follows the line of least resistance or easier course, is to deny the issue completely and reject it as an enemy myth and fabrication and a figment of his imagination.
- (ii) Another is to regard it as a stunt or bogy created by the detractors of Pakistan, to keep it engaged in internal turmoil and confusion.
- (iii) Yet another minority view is that the ruling cliques in Pakistan have used it occasionally as a diversionary tactic to remain in the saddle, and to artificially integrate the nation at the pistol point of a national threat of disintegration.
- (iv) Some minority provinces or parties are said to have used the bogy to press for their demands, genuine and otherwise.
- (v) Some enlightened realists have conceded the fact of sub-nationalism as something normal, natural and universal. But they allege that the denigrators of Pakistan, within and abroad, are trying to take undue advantage of it and turn it into a tool of divisiveness.

Whatever the varying reasons, the main justification for calling it a bogy is that there is not much meat and substance

in the nationalities issue—at least not in the mischievously intended fissiparous sense. Therefore, it is a mere stunt.

Implications

The sharp and widespread reaction to the myth, involving even cloak-and-dagger tricks and mail-fist and iron-glove tactics and court action, becomes understandable in the light of the sinister implications of the nationalities theory. In brief, it charts out a programme for the gradual disintegration of Pakistan and spell its annihilation—through provincial prejudice and conflict, parochialism and regionalism. The curse of provincialism makes the local more important than the national. 'Once bitten, twice shy!' Having seen the proof of these theories come to life in Bangla Desh, while 'the enemies of Pakistan and their agents' may feel encouraged, the Pakistanis themselves have enough reason and justification even to panic. If such psy-war and ideological subversion is being noted and taken care of in Pakistan, it should be no surprise to anybody. Least of all to the generators of such dangerous myths, stunts and bogies, no-matter how seemingly natural or naive they might be.

CHAPTER 2

The Role of the West and of Some Neighbours

"As for this Two Nation Theory, we never accepted it. We accepted partition merely as an ad-hoc practical arrangement".
(-- Krishna Menon to Michael Brecher.)

"The Congress has consistently upheld that the unity of India must be maintained. Geography and the mountains and the sea fashioned India as she is and no human agency can change the shape, or come in the way of her final destiny. Economic circumstances and insistent demands of international affairs make the unity of India all the more necessary. The picture of India we have learnt to cherish, will remain in our hearts and minds. The Committee earnestly trusts that when present passions have subsided, India's problems will be reviewed in their proper perspective and the false doctrine of the two nation theory will be discredited and discarded by all."¹

Of the two works on the transfer of power by British authors which have received most attention, Leonard Mosley's 'The Last Days of the British Raj', places the blame for the dreadful massacres which disfigured independence upon the British policy makers, most of all, upon Mountbatten. He even

1. *Resolution of the Indian National Congress Working Committee on Accepting the Partition Plan, 3rd June 1947.*)

asserts that partition was not necessary (p. 274) : 'A little patience and all the troubles might have been avoided. Pakistan was the one-man achievement of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and Jinnah was dead within a year of Pakistan's foundation'.¹

To say the least, the above quotations are quite typical of the Hindu and British views on the partition of India into Bharat and Pakistan in 1947.

The Motive Forces and Factors

Not all the motivating impulses were foul and malafide in the external opposition to, criticism of or scepticism towards Pakistan and its ideology. Some were based on genuine misunderstanding about Pakistan's ideological mainsprings, inspiration and intentions. Others represented an alien or different point of view. No doubt, some were selfish and others downright mischievous. But some were prompted by differing geo-political, strategic, security and defence considerations. The global power politics of the big powers and the regional balance of power also had their influence on the super and lesser power, attitude to Pakistan.

Before turning to specific countries, governments or alignments and extraneous power elites, lobbies or pressure groups, let us list the broader and general reasons, some inherent and built-in the situation, for the inability of some countries to appreciate Pakistan's stand on its sovereign nationhood.

General Reasons

Geo-Political and Strategic

(i) The Pakistan of 1947 to 1971 was an 'unnatural and unprecedented split state' and 'a geographical monstrosity and freak', in the sight of Western geographers, land strategists,

1. *'Experiment with Freedom'* by Hugh Tinker. Pub. : Oxford University Press, 1967).

theorists and analysts. The Indians made good use of this prejudice.

(ii) Colonial

The British had their own pet and well-known notions of preserving intact and vicariously through the Hindus, the unitary legacy of their empire. Most of the West seemed to share that nostalgia.

(iii) Ideological

Pakistan was intended to be not only an ideological state, what was unique about it was that it was to be a religious ideology, unlike materialistic socialism. And Islam has always been an eye-sore and a menace to many, both historically-cum-geographically and potentially.

(iv) Global and Regional Power Politics

Pakistan prejudiced Russia against itself initially in its infancy by opting for the West a bit too soon and entirely. The West considered it expedient to pamper this God-believing religious state as a bulwark against the atheistic USSR and the Communist menace. But it, nonetheless, strove to bring it subtly under the Indian hegemony as a greater ring for the containment of communism. The Russians saw in India a possible ally against China. All this added up to the tentative and tenuous survival of Pakistan. But only as a modern protectorate of neo-or new-colonialism and a client or mini-state with controllable and the least nuisance value. When the nuisance increased, Pakistan was neatly brushed down in 1965 and then cut to its proper size in 1971—no doubt, largely as a result of its own gullibility and vainglorious follies.

(v) Differing Concepts

The West has always tried to look at the East with Western binoculars. And what is more arrogant, to graft its hybrid

notions on an alien soil. Many of the orientals themselves suffer from such attitudes and are to blame for this reaction. Thus, the essentially Western territorial concepts of sovereignty, state and nationhood, of nation, nationality and nationalism found their way into the eastern political context and socio-economic milieu. But the eastern and Islamic points of view, on which the Pakistani ideology was based, were quite different and distinct, as we shall see in the following pages. This is also quite true of the Russian and communist view-point. China has been far more understanding, positively protective and abidingly, dependably friendly.

The Democratic West

In its attitude to Pakistan and its Islamic Ideology, the West has been guided/motivated mainly by the following major considerations :

- (i) Containment of communism in the Indo-Pak sub-continent and in South/South-West/South-East Asia.
- (ii) The appeasement and strengthening of India as a regional power, the greatest or at least the biggest democracy in the East ; and to wean it away from communism, if not to contain communism itself.
- (iii) Differing Western concepts of political economy and sociology.
- (iv) The British had their own nostalgia and vicarious scheme of re-living the lost Indian Empire.
- (v) National self-interest.
- (vi) Western strategy of maintaining the balance of power in the subcontinent and Asia, vis-a-vis Russia and China.

Some Fundamental Concepts

Nation, Nationality, Nationalism, etc.

Let us first record the views of some Western political scientists and scholars :

Ernest Renan

“A **nation** is a grand solidarity constituted by the sentiment of sacrifices which one has made and those that one is disposed to make again. It supposes a past, renews itself specially in the present by a tangible deed : the approval, the desire clearly expressed, to continue the communal life. The **existence of a nation is an everyday plebiscite.**” (—“The Meaning of Nationalism” by Prof. Louis L. Snider).

Ernest Barker

“A **nation** is a body of men, inhabiting a definite territory who **normally** are drawn from **different races**, but possess a **common stock** of **thoughts and feelings** acquired and transmitted during the course of a **common history** and who, besides common thoughts and feelings, also cherish a **common will**, and accordingly form, or tend to form, a separate state for the expression of that will.” (The Meaning of Nationalism, by Prof. Louis L. Snyder.)

Harold J. Laski

“Broadly speaking, in fact, the idea of **nationality** is, as Renan insisted in a famous essay, essentially **spiritual** in character. It implies the sense of a **special unity** which marks off those who share in it from the rest of mankind. That unit is the outcome of a common history, of victories won and **traditions** created by a corporate effort. There grows up a sense of kinship which binds men into **oneness**. They recognise their likeness and emphasise their difference from other men.” (—“A Grammar of Politics”).

Garner

"A nation is a culturally homogeneous social group which is at once conscious and tenacious of its unity of psychic life and expression".

Gilchrist

"A nation is the state plus something else. The state looked at from a certain point of view - viz. that of the unity of the people organised in one state."

Lord Bryce

"A nation is a nationality which has organised itself into a political body either independent or desiring to be independent". Whereas a "Nationality" is a population held together by certain ties, as for example language and literature, ideas, customs and traditions, in such a way as to feel itself a coherent unity, distinct from other populations similarly held together by like ties of their own."

Hayes

"A nationality by acquiring unity and sovereign independence becomes a nation."

The above definitions have been crystallised by Prof. Mazhar-ul-Haq in his "Principles of Political Science", as follows :

"A nation now means a people having community of language, culture or religion, possessing political unity or aspiring to possess it, and united by a sense or sentiment of nationality". Or : "A nation may be briefly described as a people plus community of culture and aspirations plus statehood."

Distinctions and Differences

According to Prof. Mazhar-ul-Haq, "the basic difference (between a nation and a nationality) is that nation implies political unity or state (which marks it off from all other peoples similarly united under a state), while nationality has no reference to political unity.....In brief, a nationality = a people + community of culture and aspirations. A nation = a people + community of culture, etc. + political unity or state or aspiration to it."

Finally **Nationalism** may be defined as the spiritual hard-core, soul or motivational quintessence of a people, which first draws them together, then binds and finally holds them together, first as a nationality and then, even as a nation. It is their emotive and psychic spirit of unity and oneness, without which neither a nationality nor yet a nation is ever conceivable.

Common Elements

The following are the generally accepted common features of a nation/nationality :

- (1) A common homeland.
- (2) Race or origins.
- (3) Language and literature.
- (4) Culture.
- (5) Religion.
- (6) Economy.
- (7) History.
- (8) Political Experience.
- (9) Political aspirations and sense of destiny.
- (10) The spirit of Nationalism or the sentiment of Nationhood or National Solidarity. This is an important psychological and emotive factor which fosters the sense of common being and mutual belonging to each other, as distinct from others.

It may be noted that the above community of factors is neither universal nor cumulative or collective. Indeed, a nation

often consists of many nationalities springing from varied or various origins and races or cultural and ethnic groups, but with other common factors to bind them firmly.

Main Features

We can now, perhaps, sum up the quintessence of the terms 'nation, nationality and nationalism', as conceived in the West and generally accepted in the East, in the following words :

- (i) They are essentially spiritual, psychological and emotional in character, for they imply the feelings of unity and oneness, being and belonging, future binding and togetherness—in brief, the consent, cooperation, consensus and will to do so.
- (ii) They require a number of common elements and shared features, in order to strike roots and blossom forth.
- (iii) The above Western concepts also have an insistent reference to a territorial manifestation and geographical expression. The tendency to statehood is unmistakable.

The Islamic View

The Islamic Concept, on the other hand, is more spiritual and less merely territorial. Iqbal's famous couplet sums it up well :

هر ملک ملک ماست که ملک خدا ماست

"Every country is mine

For all land belongs to God !"

Behind this is the Islamic faith in the universal equality, oneness and unity of man and the brotherhood of mankind. Since all men are equal, they belong to each other equally, along with all their material and worldly possessions. God is the

master of all creation and the earth ; man belongs to God ; he must share His bounty and plentiful blessings. The Islamic Nation or "Millat" is, no doubt, trans-continental and supra-stately. But since man is earthy and bound or rather linked by the earth, needing a home and a habitat, as a family and a nation, the political state and its usual boundaries are recognised by Islam.

It is a mistake to assert that the Islamic concept of a nation is anti-territorial. At best, it may be a territorial or supra-state—in the sense that it spiritually transcends these barriers and does not get bogged down in them. But it does acknowledge and accept them as political facts and international realities. For Islam does not believe in escapism. The Nation or "Millat" in Islam has a double meaning, i.e. (i) a territorial homeland or state for a people ; and (ii) the ever-increasing brotherhood of Islam and then, of mankind, going beyond national frontiers. The state is not an end in itself, or the be-all and end-all of man's life and achievements. It is a means to the end—the overall well-being of man, in the service and greater glory of God. Thus, the Islamic concept is both material, geographic or territorial **and** spiritual. Of course, it is more spiritual, philosophic, religious, psychological and emotive, and less purely geographical. But it concedes and upholds the basic fact that even a Muslim needs and requires a homeland. This, in effect, is to accept one's geo-political realities, candidly, and to put this realism to good use, nationally and internationally.

Differences

The difference between the Western and Islamic concept is essentially one of quality and not merely of emphasis. No doubt, both have a spiritual content, tone and tenor, and also uphold the territorial factor. But the Western view over-emphasises it, to the exclusion of extra-territorial considerations, (despite its theory of confederation etc). For the Muslim, on the other hand, every Muslim (and human being) is a brother, wherever he is,

'despite all territorial bounds, and geographical limitations, and he belongs to the same binding brotherhood and unifying Millat'.

The Western Attitude

Apart from the other reasons and considerations referred to earlier, the West's understanding of these Islamic political concepts and of Pakistan's basic ideology, springs from the above differences in outlook and approach. Of course, with a bit of effort on either side, these differences could have been bridged and better understanding achieved. But complacency and ignorance, prejudice and arrogance stood in the way. According to Syed Yaqub Shah :

"For centuries the West has subjected Islam to the worst form of intolerance and hostility...The writers of the last two centuries have been comparatively well-informed and their contributions have helped to remove many cobwebs."¹

The above may be true of some Western scholars of Islam and academicians of comparative religion or a few orientalists. But the world strategists and politicians thought and planned differently.

There has been a noticeable ambivalence and contrariness in the Western attitude to Pakistan and its ideology. Historically, because of the Holy and religious wars, colonialism and Muslim renaissance and resistance, it was one of prejudice. Religiously, it was one of anti-or a religion and secularism. Potentially, there was the fear of Pan-Islamism and a strong Muslim bloc, rich in manpower and natural resources—if not of expansionism, as 'the Muslim Millat knows no bounds.' But strategically, a pro-West Pakistan suited the free western powers. The Islamic Ideology

1. "*West's Tributes to Islam*"; Pub.: Ferozsons Ltd., Lahore 1971.

was considered to be a fit match to the communist threat in the East. So the result of this ambivalent and contradictory attitude was a weakly viable Pakistan kept at a manageable size.

The Indian Grand Dreams And Designs

This also suited India, which, under the garb of neutralism, flirted with both the West and with Russia.

The Indian leaders before and after partition have made no secret of their attitude and intentions towards Pakistan. Their denouncements and declarations are too well-known and documented to be repeated here. For the British, the Indian or Afro-Asian Ocean was a British Lake. Ever since their departure, the Indians have sought to make it a private Indian Lake. Their conquestorial and colonial ambitions of an Akhund Bharat Empire go well beyond the Himalayas. India's gradual annexation of established states and disputed territories in and around it is a valid and eloquent testimony to both its ambitions and euphoria. The Kashmir problem with Pakistan is still unresolved. There have been several wars with Pakistan, which has resultantly been cut to size effective'y.

Regional Balance of Power

India Today

In the meantime, the whole regional balance of power and peace has been upset in this process which urgently needs to be restored, in the interest of peace and freedom. For while Pakistan has been diminished in strength and size, India has grown bolder and more courageous, having been armed to the teeth and gone unclear. Its expansionist designs are unmistakable. With its recent ruthlessness towards the mythical Indian democracy, Bharat stands fully unmasked and exposed. It is no longer a democracy, if ever it was once, genuinely. Instead, it is a one-woman dictatorship and fascist autocracy, through and through. South-Asian peace is thus greatly menaced by this foster sister of Golda Meir.

Bangla Desh

Today, if anything, the creation of Bangladesh re-validates and establishes the Two Nation Theory. Despite at the uncertainty, the People's (Islamic?) Republic of Bangladesh is very much Muslim and fairly anti-Indian, at least as far as the masses go. With the state of emergency clamped in India, one is reminded of the Chinese prediction of 1971 that in creating Bangladesh, India, with its bewildering complexity and multiple language states, ethnic groups, cultures, religions and regions, had opened its own Pandora's box and dug its own grave. Contemporary history seems to be proving things sooner than one would have thought.

Afghanistan

Afghanistan's attitude to Pakistan and its ideology has generally been assessed to be reflective in nature and character. Like some groups and individuals in Pakistan, it has echoed the Indian chorus. The Russians are generally reported to have had a sobering influence on them (i.e. India and Afghanistan). But the Afghan claims to Pakistan's territories per se or in the form of Pukhtoonistan have neither intrinsic worth nor any genuineness or sincerity of purpose. They have often been used as a stunt or bogey to bully Pakistan or to extract concessions from it. Conversely, Pakistan too, at times, has used the bogey to kill or silence the opposition or to frighten the nation into obedience and unity.

A Reply

Without working oneself into hysterics, the following reply could be addressed to the authors of all such stunts :

Almost every country has its political, religious, economic, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, historical or other minorities—or 'nationalities', as some would like to call them, at least in regard

to Pakistan. If so, similar divisive, disruptive or disintegrative problems of ethno-nationalism or sub-nationalism can be manoeuvred with some effort, among them, to exploit these inherent limitations or typicalities, if not weaknesses. In Afghanistan's case, it has at least its Pushto and Persian speaking areas and populations. And India is a veritable hornets' nest.

But 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' is no real solution to such problems of international relations. We have much in common with Afghanistan, including religion. While understanding the problems, limitations, psychology and strategy of a traditional buffer zone and eternally land-locked state - and such arm twisting of neighbours is one of them, Pakistan should continue to do everything possible to normalise its relation with Afghanistan, (as also with India and its other neighbours).

The Role of the USSR

Finally, we come to the Russian attitude. As stated earlier, also, Pakistan is to blame for it partly, because of its infantile total commitment to the West, right in its infancy - to the extent of providing the inflammable Bada Ber Base to America and the consequent US U2. William Power's spy plane incident and red encirclement of Peshawar (1962). But our relations have been improving gradually even with USSR which is, both commendable and essential for our survival.

Apart from the above, Russia is generally believed to have been motivated by the following factors, in its attitude towards Pakistan and its Islamic Ideology :

- (i) The USSR centuries' old lure of the warm waters via a permanent and reliable transit trade land route through Pakistan.
- (ii) Its own socialist ideology—different both from the Islamic and the Western socio-political and economic concepts and theories,

- (iii) The wariness to forestall a viable competitive ideology, rich in potential and possibilities as a panacea to mankind, getting gradually disillusioned in the West.
- (iv) Broadly speaking, general national self-interest dictated by :
 - (a) geo-politics and geo-strategy ;
 - (b) regional and global balance of power ; and
 - (c) economic considerations —the desire for shorter routes, an expanding market and a client state with much prestige among the Muslims and in the Third World.
- (v) Regional security.

The Asian Security Plan

This has, perhaps intentionally, never been spelt out clearly by Russia. But the question arises : Security of or for whom, by whom and against whom ? There would be no point for Pakistan in giving up one (security) plan, pact or alignment (SEAFO/CENTO) for another. Further, the Russian proposal hardly finds favour with the USSR/Socialist theoretical aversion to such alliances.

Pakistan's stance is enlightened and understandable. While it has never said no to discussing it, such a plan would be meaningless without China. For, to quote Mr. Bhutto, 'we cannot have a Helsinki in Asia'. Beleaguered Pakistan has enough trouble in hand to court more by annoying offending tried and tested friends.

Sino-Soviet Detente (wishful presently), on the other hand, would not only stabilise this region, but might also turn out to be Mackinder's nightmare for the West.

The Russian Ideology

The Indian propaganda and psy-war coupled with the dismemberment of Pakistan, India's victoric euphoria and the creation of Bangladesh in 1971, lent much support to the nationalities bogey. In the meantime, the Russians were moving in another, though parallel, direction. Four of their publications can be cited as a landmark in this connection. Published in recent years by the People's Publishing House, Lahore, and the Progress Publishers, Moscow, they are :

- (i) **A History of Pakistan (1947-1958)**
By : Yu. V. Gankovsky
and
W.R. Gordon Polonskaya.
(Date of Publication — Not given).
- (ii) **The Peoples of Pakistan.**
By : Yu. V. Gankovsky.
(Date of Publication — Not given).
- (iii) **Pakistan : Philosophy and Sociology. (1972)**
By : M. T. Stepanyants.
- (iv) **How The National Question Was Solved
In Soviet Central Asia.**
By : R. Tuzmuhamedov. (1973).

Briefly speaking, the first three books pose the nationalities problem, while the fourth suggests to solve it by way of an illustration or a concrete Soviet, Socialist example. The main drift of the first three (though not in these words), is :

- (i) Pakistan is not a single nation or unit but a collection of peoples or nationalities drawn from various ethnic strains, (some) of Central Asian origin.
- (ii) Pakistan is the creation of the 'divide and rule' policy of the British ; who left behind a dreadful colonial heritage.

- (iii) It is also the handiwork of the educated middle class Muslim elite ; which was kept in leash for some-time by their ideological fervour, the forces of history and some top leaders.
- (iv) But the 'big landlords' and the 'upper bourgeoisie', especially of West Pakistan, broke loose soon after independence and began to play hell and havoc with the country.
- (v) At best, Pakistan's ideology is an (honest) attempt and (sincere) search for ethical ideas' and a 'theoretical foundation'—weakened by its 'ideological controversy on the state structure of Pakistan ...'
- (iv) According to the Russian ideology, nationalities, though theoretically distinct from the nation, are dependent and knit into it, for they cannot exist independently without the mother or parent nation. And socialism is only a transitional stage towards world communism, which will unite the entire human fraternity one day in the integrative economic process of its unifying ideology.

The fourth book proves that neither ideological disputations nor nationalities issues are anything insoluble. Russia, too, faced these—and solved them through the supreme Soviet Socialist ideology, as follows :

The USSR, also, consists of so many nationalities. That is something normal and natural, to be accepted and encouraged. The Soviet Central Asian Republics are a good example. Constitutionally all the Republics of the Soviet Union are autonomous, with the right of secession. But they have voluntarily opted to stay together because of the human and material blessings of oneness through the Soviet Ideology—which is realistic and down-to-earth and not romantic, utopian or ideational. It is

materialistic and economic, calling a spade, a spade. Thus all the Soviet Socialist Republics are closely knit together by virtue of integrated and inter-dependent all-round economic development, in which all work as equals and share the fruits of labour, enjoyably. With such a motivating and unifying ideology to inspire and guide the peoples, the various nationalities are bound to stick together.

Three other Russian books can be mentioned in this connection which narrate the same ideology and theories, examples, lessons and arguments similar to those in the fourth book listed above. These are :

- (i) Discovering the Soviet Union. By N. Mikhailov.
Pub : Progress Publishers, Moscow. (1970)
- (ii) A New Approach to Economic Integration. By :
P. Alampier, O. Bogomolov, and Y. S. Shiryayev. (Pub :
Dto. 1974).
- (iii) National Sovereignty And the Soviet State. By : V.S.
Shevtsov. (Pub : Dto. 1974).

Contending Ideologies

Some may call the above, sly and subtle ideological subversion and psy-war. But its defenders may term it legitimate exemplified propaganda aimed at educative conversion. Whatever it is, a confrontation of ideas and ideologies and a meeting of cultures have always gone on the world. In the end, it is always the superior mind and intellect, ideas and ideology—as put to practice—and not merely preached—which triumph. The challenge is as much to the nation of Pakistan as to the rest of the sub-continent. And in another sense and direction, even to the peoples of the USSR and the nations and nationalities of India and Afghanistan. To the Turko-Muslim and Turkemenian

Soviet Central Asian states—'which are nearly equi-distant from the multiple power core regions—Moscow and Peking— of the Eurasian Communist World National.'

In a word, the Russian view is no prescription for Pakistan, which already has its own complete code, way of life and ideology to guide it.

While a strong and prosperous Pakistan justify a religious socio-political and economic ideology as a viable system for the International community ; Russia's Chinese neighbours can—and do—also use the same 'nationalities logic' to bug their 'revisionist' brothers with.

If Pakistan is internally strong and united, it can stand up to any challenge, big or small. For acquiring this intrinsic strength, the same will of the people and national spirit or nationalism which created Pakistan originally, are now required urgently. These lie treasured in the Islamic Ideology of Pakistan which, alone, can save, succour and sustain it, as we shall try to see in the pages that follow.

CHAPTER 3

Some Internal Trends and Tensions

Causes : Inherent And Internal

The nationalities bogey is not entirely of a foreign origin or creation. Forces and factors within the country itself have also contributed to it. The main reasons were :

- (i) The split nature of the pre-1971 state, which created a colonial type of disequilibrium in the very fibre and functioning of the infant state. This was an inherent hurdle and a built-in cause of its gradual disintegration.
- (ii) The long absence of democracy and prevalence of military dictatorship in the country, which prevented a balancing-up of the said disequilibrium.

Some individuals and minor parties in the country are also alleged to have toed the foreign line and contributed their nefarious bit to the nationalities neurosis. We shall turn to these again later.

The frenzied bursting forth of Muslim Bengali jingoism—which was the direct result of the 1965 Indo-Pak war, in which East Pakistan felt helplessly isolated, unprotected and vulnerable—encouraged the nationalities nuisance much. Mujib's Six Points proved to be a conspiracy not only for East Pakistan to break away from Pakistan, but also to sow seeds of discontentment and parochialism in the western wing. The emergence of Bangla Desh extended some hope to the shallow parrot-prattle of Sidhu Desh, Greater Baluchistan and Pakhtoonistan.

Genesis Of The Stunt

Circles within Pakistan have been influenced by two main misleaders in this connection—Afghanistan and India. The former is said to have been motivated not only by the somewhat 'natural' or at least understandable geo-political and economic compulsions of a land-locked state, but also by India, which has generally aided and abetted it; and by Russia, which has tended to restrain it in its own low-key policy towards the issue. The Indian influence, both on Afghanistan and on Pakistani minority groups, dates back to the pre-partition days when some of them were under the tutelage of the Indian National Congress and its leadership, especially Mahatama Gandhi. They belonged to the group of so-called 'Muslim Indian Nationalists' (of the Indian National Congress) who, ironically, believed in a united Indian Nation rather than the distinct and sovereign Muslim nation conceived of by the Islamic Ideology of Pakistan. They (including Maulana Abul Kalam Azad of India) are alleged to have persisted in their opposition to Pakistan even after partition, this time expressing their 'independent-mindedness' by preferring the local, provincial, partisan, personal and regional to the national. These reportedly include the NAP, and before it, the Red Shirts of pre-partition 'Khudai-Khidmatgars' headed by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Gandhi; and father of Wali Khan, the NAP chief.

The Afghan Concept

Pukhtoonistan has had some impact on its supporters in Pakistan, even though it has changed from time to time within Afghanistan. The key-note has been extortion of concessions and expediency. Currently, Kabul seems to take it to mean that the Pushto and Baluchi speaking people living to the east of the Pak-Afghan border be granted "the right of self-determination", and if they so wish and will, even be allowed to secede from Pakistan to form independent 'Pukhtoonistan' or 'Pashtunistan'. The Pak. connotation of this term is, however,

quite different. As explained by the NAP (National Awami Party) and as many Pak. upholders of the theory claim, it signifies autonomy for the Baluchi and Pathan areas or the Pushto-speaking people within Pakistan.

The Afghan claim dates back to the time to Amir Abdur Rehman (1880-1901). For the Afghan rulers it was a corner-stone of their foreign policy, as they wanted to recreate the old frontiers of their land with the Indian subcontinent. But the historical fact remains that they had no legal or logical basis for this claim to their erstwhile territories. For the simple reason was that they had formally and by treaty, relinquished long ago, all such claims through several agreements concluded with the British. The Third Afghan War (1919) was a fruitless attempt on their part to forcibly wrest these claims. After it ended in a fiasco, the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921 was another nail in the coffin of the spurious Afghan claim to those willingly surrendered territories.

The Main Motive

The main motive for the Afghan claim seems to have been to bring under Afghanistan's influence as large a portion of the trans-Indus region as possible. Independent Pukhtoonistan, the Afghan's hoped, would be pro-Afghanistan. To begin with, they and the Indians had doubted the viability of Pakistan and wished for its collapse and reabsorption by India within a few months of its creation. Pakhtunistan could have been a splinter effect and a possible corollary of the early dismemberment of Pakistan. When that did not happen, their clamour for Pukhtoonistan persisted for other and additional reasons, especially :-

- (i) The desire for an outlet to the sea for a land-locked state
- (ii) Pukhtoonistan would bring under the Afghan influence the strongest border tribes over the Durand Line.

- (iii) It would help to generate national integration and unity within Afghanistan.

The Focal Point

The fact remains that :

At no stage in history have the Pak. Pathans ever wanted to be united politically with Afghanistan. Further, all along impartial and foreign observers have found no signs of a genuine and coherent demand for Pakhtunistan in the Pathan areas.¹

"The NWFP leaders all affirmed that Pakhtunistan was a stunt raised by outsiders to deny the Frontier people their right to greater provincial autonomy. The Afghan version of Pakhtunistan was not popular in the province," they said. And, "In the NWFP, I was surprised to find that everyone I met vehemently denied the existence of any secessionist movement. Not only the opposition NAP leaders, but also those of the PPP and all other parties, refuted allegations that there were forces in the province working for the establishment of Pakhtunistan."

In brief :

- (i) There is no clear view of the Afghan version of Pakhtunistan.
- (ii) This is also true of its Pak. brand.
- (iii) The Afghan and Pak. brands have always differed.
- (iv) Even till today, there is no agreement on or even indication of the areas it is expected to cover.

1. e.g. W. K. Fraser-Tyler, J. W. Spain, W. F. Barton, A. Fletcher, D.N. Wilber and S. M. Burke.

2. Syed Yusuf Raza - "The Motherland," New Delhi, June, 1973, - as reported/cited in the 'Outlook' Weekly, Karachi, 4 Aug. 1973.

If, in the light of the foregoing, if it is not a confused boggy and a stunt, then, what is it ?

The NAP And Pakhtunistan

The (presently defunct) National Awami Party of Pakistan is considered to be the official spokesman of the Pukhtoon claim within Pakistan, in the NWFP and Baluchistan.

In his election on the eve of the General Elections to the National Assembly held on December. 7, 1970 Khan Abdul Wali Khan, the Chief of the NAP, said :

"Before I proceed to elaborate what the NAP stands for, I would like to give the background and history of this organisation. There was a get-together of the democratic forces in 1948 in Karachi, when the need for forming a party was felt ; the first preliminaries were gone into and the People's Party of Pakistan came into existence. Soon afterwards there were whole-sale arrests in the NWFP and it was in 1956 when the threads were picked up again and the actual party took a concrete shape when several political organisations from the Western Wing, combined to form the National Party of Pakistan'.....

"This party assumed a truly national complexion when a year later, i.e. in 1957 a splinter group of the Awami League led by Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani and another organisation, Ganatantr Dal from East Pakistan, joined it, and its present name, the Pakistan National Awami Party came into existence, with Maulana Bhashani as its first President.'.....

"So here in actual fact a real opposition party to the Muslim League was born, national in outlook, Awami in character, and one which refused to be dictated by the World Powers and had only the interest of Pakistan at heart,'.....

"It had four distinguishing features :

- (a) "Its membership was open to all citizens of this country irrespective of their caste, creed, region or religion.'
- (b) "It stood for an independent and non-aligned foreign policy and demanded immediate withdrawal from the two military pacts, CENTO and SEATO.'
- (c) "It felt that the One Unit in West Pakistan had been thrust upon the smaller provinces without ascertaining their wishes and, therefore, it asked for restoration of the former provinces.'
- (d) "The party felt that the economic policy of the Government was encouraging monopoly capitalism which concentrates wealth in a few hands, making the rich richer and the poor poorer. So it asked for immediate steps to check this trend and demanded a more equitable distribution of national wealth. It asked for a ceiling on land holdings and pledged itself against all exploitation of man by man."

"Now in order to assess the political history of this country, certain facts have got to be considered. The first one is the country's geographical position itself..."

"Pakistan's geographical and strategic position puts it on the global chess-board at once. At the international level, the infant country had scarcely established its normal contacts till then. Its only leader of any international standing, the Quaid-e-Azam had died in 1948..."

"The country's politicians proved themselves thoroughly unworthy of the sacred trust reposed in them and what a trust..."

"...The NAP felt that the only way by which we could get rid of this dictatorial region was to forge a united front of the political forces by mobilising public opinion, which ultimately resulted in the formation of DAC and the RTC. It was a very healthy aspect of our political life when different political parties acted as one group to dethrone a dictatorial regime..."

"We find that the policies of the past government killed democracy here and tried to eliminate politics completely."

"But the most damaging part of all this is that this country was not given a chance to throw up young and dynamic leaders with vision and foresight who could rise from amongst the people, rise above their provincial prejudices and interests and, crossing the local frontiers, function at the national level..."

"Now how are we going to meet this serious challenge, when the country has not got its own Constitution as yet? By raising slogans, appealing to the sentiments or playing on people's emotions or as quite a lot of these stalwarts are doing, indulging in mud-slinging and accusing one another of being agents of one country or another? Pro this and anti that—or even coining additional slogans, some Islam-loving elements thereby suggesting that those outside the fold of those political parties are Islam-hating? Some so-called custodians of the ideology of Pakistan are harping on a strong or weak Centre... We should be taking of strong Pakistan and that, certainly does not mean a strong Centre of former President Ayub Khan..."

"The NAP feels that the integrity of this country is directly linked with national integration and that can only be achieved by conscious and effective sense of participation by all citizens in the political and economic policies of the State..."

"All citizens are to be treated as equal, irrespective of caste, creed, region, language, culture and religion..."

"Now let us approach our problems in a scientific manner. Religion and the State cannot be controversial issues under any circumstances and they certainly are not the issues involved in the coming elections. The two basic issues are the system of government and the pattern of the country's economic structure. There are scores of Muslim countries stretching from Indonesia to Morocco and Algeria and they all have different systems of government. Now which one of these could be called Islamic and others un-Islamic ? And the same could be said about the economic systems of these Muslim countries.

"We want friendliest relations with all countries including our neighbours."

No mention is made in the entire speech, of Pukhtoonistan, either to confirm or deny the allegation of secessionism. But the declaration of allegiance to Pakistan, democracy and Islam are quite discernible.

What Happened ?

What happened, then, to outwardly deflect the loyalties or thinking of the N.A.P. ? Was it a change of political circumstances or opportunities ? Or was it a change of heart and mind ? Not that there was a 'sudden mutation'. The patriotism of the NAP and its leadership had been questioned time and again, before also to the extent that the party was banned prior to 1971, as well.

After 1971

But after 1971, even though the ban was lifted, the party ran into trouble repeatedly. The provincial polarisation of parties—ruling and opposition—and the confrontation between the Centre and the provinces, the NWFP and Baluchistan, had their sinister implications and results. The NAP has always tried to deny charges of parochialism and secessionism. Today in 1975, the party stands banned by the Government of Pakistan

on these very charges again, and the matter is subjudice with the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Therefore, it will be neither fair nor proper to comment on it, one way or other.

Since the writing of this portion, the Supreme Court of Pakistan announced its judgment in the case, on 30th October, 1975, upholding the dissolution of the NAP by the federal government.

The following editorial comments on this historical judgment, are pertinent and thought-provoking, pointing to future possibilities and prospects¹ :—

“The Supreme Court of Pakistan, on a reference made to it by the Central Government under the Political Parties Act of 1962, has delivered what will probably go down in our judicial history as a political judgment of great import. This is not to suggest that the Court, in its interpretation of the law or appraisal of the evidence placed before it, was influenced by any political predilections. It will be so described because the highest court in the land was, for the first time, called upon to deal with a purely political matters. In the past, our courts have frequently grappled with intricate constitutional issues or political leaders have been arraigned before them for utterances and actions that were alleged to contravene the law. And we can recall at least one court case arising from a political party being banned by the Executive ; when its representatives sought redress before a court of law, the finding was against the impugned Government action. In the present instance, the Government had placed before the Court the question of dissolving a political party, and the Supreme Court of Pakistan has held that the Government’s action was justified and that the National

1. ‘Viewpoint’ Weekly, Lahore, of 7th November, 1975.

Awami Party stands dissolved, because the party and its leaders were guilty of operating in a manner prejudicial to the sovereignty and integrity of Pakistan, and that they were working against the ideology of Pakistan'.

"Another significant aspect of the case is that the Government made its reference expecting the Supreme Court to act in its advisory capacity, and give its opinion on the validity or otherwise of an executive decision. The Court, however, has held that the law gives it the responsibility to exercise its original jurisdiction and deliver a declaratory judgment. Another unhappy feature of the case is that the Court's judgment has virtually been made *ex parte*. The Court itself has stated that this was one of the most difficult cases that had come before it, and that it was a pity that the political party sought to be banned decided not to cooperate with the Court. With this view there can be no disagreement. Abdul Wali Khan's boycott of Court's proceedings was wholly ill-advised and improper".

"Finally, it should be realised that no human judgment is ever the final word on any subject, and this is particularly true when the matter under consideration is a political issue. It is also relevant to recall that, since the creation of Pakistan, the appellation of traitor has been bandied about with considerable abandon, but this exercise in harsh polemics has had little effect on the political fortunes of either the name-givers or the receivers. It is heartening, therefore, to note that the Prime Minister is fully conscious of this position. He has stated in fairly clear terms that, while the Court's verdict vindicates the position taken by his Government, the doors to a dialogue for a political settlement will be kept open, and that he will be guided by national opinion in choosing his future course of action. He said further

that the consequences of the Court decision will be given careful consideration, and that he will consult with the leaders of the Opposition parties and others so that political solutions can be found to Pakistan's political problems. We earnestly hope that he will take up this essential task without undue delay."

My only remark on the above, despite my basic respect for the political settlement of political issues is, that if national loyalty and patriotism were made all that conveniently negotiable, then God help this land ! For political settlement cannot be turned into political licence. One must think a thousand times crying 'traitor'.

'Greater Baluchistan'

However, suffice it to say that the NAP's own denials of the afore-mentioned charges, whatever their merit, point to the hollowness of the Pukhtoonistan stunt - at least in theory. And what is true of the NAP in the Frontier, is essentially and generally also true of it in Baluchistan and of the myth of the 'Greater Baluchistan's fantasy. With the latest abolition of the Sardari System, hopefully, the Baluchistan issue, too, may well be on its way to a satisfactory solution.

Sindh Desh And G. M. Syed

The secessionist fever of Sindhi nationalism is reportedly confined to 'senile G.M. Syed and his narrowing coterie', alone. It is expected to die with him and more so, with greater national consciousness and integration in Pakistan. That at least, is the complacent or optimistic view.

Till his expulsion from the Pakistan Muslim League in 1946, (on defying the party High Command over the party nominations of candidates from Sindh for the 1946 general

elections), he was quite a staunch provincial worker of the party. But thereafter, he reportedly became a "regionalist, pure and simple". First a Muslim regionalist and later, a Sindhi one—including both the Muslims and Hindus.

His narrow credo has met persistent and strong opposition not only in the other provinces of Pakistan, but within his own province, too. This is evident from his unpopularity within and outside Sindh.

Conclusions

Pukhtoonistan, Greater Baluchistan and Sindhu Desh, far from being genuine threats to the integrity, sovereignty and solidarity of Pakistan have, in the past, generally been myths, stunts and bogies on either side. With the opposition, to extort and extract concessions from the ruling party. With the government, to 'give the (proverbial) dog a bad name and hang him'... and to try to integrate the nation artificially, with such an explosive threat. Also as diversionary tactics.

CHAPTER 4

A Reply to the Stunt : The Thesis

“Let a hundred flowers blossom and let a hundred schools of thought contend.” (Lu-Ting-Yi).

Acceptance of Reality

Here it necessary to make the essential and life-saving, life-giving distinction between parochialism, on the one hand, and secessionism, on the other. A certain degree of provincialism is natural, and therefore, understandable, in all states, nations and countries. But that does not, necessarily, imply, predict or necessitate secessionism. Let us then, in Pakistan, accept the normal fact and natural reality that ours is a complex, plural or pluralistic, variegated, multilingual and many-cultural society. Such healthy variety only adds to the charm and spice of our national life. It may also pose a certain challenge—not of viability—but of peaceful and prosperous coexistence. That is nothing to be scared of or even annoyed with.

Many Races

It is also a fact that the people of Pakistan are an interesting, rich and healthy mixture of numerous racial strains. That is because “the Indo-Pak subcontinent has attracted migrants from both the north-east and the north-west, from times immemorial. For thousands of years, people have entered through these routes, settling and mixing with the pre-Dravidian stocks. The process lasted a long time, and eventually the Dravidian type emerged. The migrants and invaders came mainly from Central and Western Asia. The Dravidians were

followed by Aryans, Greeks, Persians, Arabs, Turks and Mughols, resulting in a mixture of races. In terms of origin, the dominant racial type in Pakistan is the Indo-Aryans. The people of Pakistan can be distinguished into two broad racial groups' :

Main Racial Sources

- (a) 'The Indo-Aryans—primarily distributed over the plains, to the east of the Indus'.
- (b) 'The Turko-Iranians ... They are mostly distributed over Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier regions'.....

"The history of the Baluchs reflects their valour, love for freedom and fear of God ... The valorous and freedom loving Pathans of the N.W. Frontier are born fighters as well as industrious and hard workers The Punjabi is mainly a farmer-soldier, though he is an efficient and hard worker in other occupations, too The Sindhi way of working and living depicts the historical influence. It had the direct impact of Islam".¹

Unifying Factors

No doubt the people of Pakistan have various racial strains and speak different languages. But even these are cemented by unifying forces and factors—of origin, race, religion, history, culture, geo-politics, strategy and economy, as we shall see as we go along. The racial differences are tidied over by common origins from a couple of main sources and by their complex and inseparable admixture over history and time. All the Pakistani languages, except Brohi, (spoken by a small number in Kalat), belong to the Aryan group. They are becoming increasingly

1. *Pakistan Year Book 1975 : 'The Land and the People.'*
 Pub : East and West Publishing Co., Karachi.

popular in their neighbouring regions and all over Pakistan. Then, there are Urdu and English, which are universal in the country, the former among the masses and classes, the latter among the classes, elite and the educated. Above all, Islam, the religion of the overwhelming majority and the ideology of the nation, is the single most unifying and all-pervasive factor, which cuts across the provincial frontiers and all barriers of caste, creed, colour and class or status.

Racial Admixtures

Despite at the Dravidians, Aryans, Greeks, natives (Indians), Arabs, Turks, Iranians, Mongols, Afghans and Central Asians raiding and settling in the subcontinent over the centuries, there is no pure racial strain today, except perhaps in stray isolated pockets and among microscopic minorities ; which, too, are fast dying out, or being assimilated and absorbed in the main life-stream of the nation, as a result of natural socio-economic phenomena. In fact there are no pure races of any significant quantum anywhere in the world today. The populous of Pakistan is an indiscernible and indefinite admixture of races, which can not be clearly mapped as distinct identities along any regional continuum or positive geographical lines. One main reason for this is the large extent and high degree of population migration in Pakistan throughout the ages, because of economic compulsions, historical pressures, flight from invaders or inclement nature and search for soil and security. Thus, there have always been racial and regional spill-overs of population in this ever-migratory process ; which is still extant and eternal. It is churning and levelling process of history, in its massive grinders and mixers. That is why we find Pathans and Punjabis, Kashmiris, Sindhis and Brahuīs both in Sindh and Baluchistan, Kakaizais both in the Frontier and the Punjab, Niazi in the NWFP, Punjab and even Sindh and Tareens in the Frontier and Baluchistan. Syeds, Khans, Rajputs, Mughals, Maliks, Abbasis,

Sheikhs, Chaudhries, Arains, Jats etc, cover the whole of Pakistan.

Economic Factors

Above all, intersecting, demolishing and yet, in a way, adding to the cultural barriers or classifications, are economic pressures, which transcend parochial considerations. But they promote other classifications based on land and money, feudalism and capitalism.

Universal Phenomenon

Parochialism, regionalism or provincialism is a universal phenomenon. It is common to both big and small, rich and poor, backward and advanced, ancient and modern, eastern and western societies. America and Canada, Russia and China, England and France, Germany and Switzerland, Asia and Africa, India and Pakistan, Europe and the USA, all are aware of and experiencing it, in some form or other. For there are all kinds of minorities - ethnic and linguistic, religious and social, economic and political, regional and provincial. The world has learnt to accept, deal with the problem and survive it, successfully.

Extent of Universality

The issue parochialism is so widespread that the American "Journal of International Affairs"¹ had devoted an entire issue to the study of "Political Integration In Multinational States." A general introduction to the problem is contained in Walker Connor's "The Politics Of Ethno-nationalism". Detailed studies were made specifically of Russia, India, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Malaysia, Israel and Africa. Various terms have been

1. *Columbia University School of International Affairs, Vol. 27, No. 1, 1973.*

coined and used in this connection, e.g. national integration, nation building, cultural or social engineering, ethnonationalism, pluralism, multi-nationalism, sub-nationalism, nationalities, political integration, racial self-determination, national self-determination; separatist, irredentist, fissiparous, parochial, provincial, regional, break-away or secessionist tendencies or trends; regionalism—etc. All these expressions point to the same phenomenon and problem. They are said to stem from the same basic urge of national self-determination or nationalism’.

“In its postulation of a necessary linkage between political legitimacy and ethnic identity, the concept of self-determination of nations contains the seeds of a radical redrawing of today’s political map In a world consisting of thousands of distinct ethnic groups in, only some one hundred and thirty-five states, the revolutionary potential inherent in self-determination is quite apparent.

All but fourteen of today’s states contain at least one significant minority and half of the fourteen exceptions are characterised by that so-called irredentist situation in which the dominant ethnic group extends beyond the state’s borders’ Thus this ‘is truly a global phenomenon. **This upsurge in ethnonationalism exemplifies a remarkably high degree of independence from such variables as** geographic location, level of economic development, form of government, degree of urbanisation, socio-political philosophy, magnitude of population, literacy rate, average standard of living, and length of time as an independent state.’”

Pakistan’s Strategy

What should be Pakistan’s strategy to tackle the teaser of ethnonationalism or parochialism, in the light of the foregoing ?

1. “*The Politics of Ethnonationalism*” by Walker Connor.

I would suggest the following main working principles and objectives :

1. Realism

As submitted earlier, the first and foremost requirement is not just to recognise this reality but also to accept it as something normal, natural, healthy and understandable. The Russians don't have to convince us of it. We may take it as a national fact and factor and a reality to be tackled, reckoned and lived with, as best and wisely, as possible. The phenomenon is so universal, that the whole world is up against it. If allowed to go to its logical conclusion, it would mean the splintering up of almost every state. No country can ever tolerate that State borders simply cannot be made to coincide with ethnic pressures. Even then, states will be jutting into each other and there will be endless border disputes. Such consequences are neither desirable nor even conceivable. This is an age of strong and viable states — big or at least medium ones — and *not* mini and vulnerable states. The people of Pakistan can be made aware of such a fate and consequence of parochialism.

2. Nationalism

According to Prof. Arnold Rivkin and Editor Brian P. Connelly (of the Journal of International Affairs), "A **common national consciousness**, a common national **consensus** and a common national **identity**", are the essential prerequisites of national self-determination and nation building or of nationalism. But they warn that the expressions 'nation and state' should not be confused, identified or used interchangeably.

The point to note here is that **common** factors have to be discovered and promoted, in order to preserve or build up a nation.

Earnest Barker once opined that "A nation is a body of men, inhabiting a definite territory, **who normally** are drawn

from **different** races, but possess a **common stock** of **thoughts**, and **feelings** acquired and transmitted during the course of a **common history** and who, besides common thoughts and feelings also cherish a **common will**, and accordingly from a separate state for the expression of that will."

Therefore, if a nation consists of different racial, ethnic or cultural groups, it is something quite '**Normal**'. What is important is a commonality of the other **common** factors mentioned above — especially common thoughts, feelings, aspirations and **will**. In the case of Pakistan, the same will of the people which originally created Pakistan—and can now preserve and eternalise it.

Brian P. Connelly suggested once that, "The key to the self-identification process is . . . the individual . . . All efforts at social engineering rest on the mental set of thousands of individuals".

That is a typically democratic approach in which the importance of the individual — both as a leader and a follower — is recognised and upheld. This also implies: "promoting inter-ethnic **understanding** rather than resurrecting assimilation efforts"—in one ethnic or cultural identity of a nation or other, be it the dominant or mother culture or the more vital group—or not. (—Nancy L. Snider).

Thus, Understanding through Knowledge and better awareness or consciousness is essential for unity. But it is unity within diversity — not unification. It is to live and let live ; and for cooperative, purposive and peaceful co-existence. **All attempts at cultural assimilation especially contrived and artificial—into the predominant or majority stream of consciousness—would be most dangerous for Pakistan.** For that a would imply a loss of identity and individuality. The people of Pakistan are too proud and self-respecting to suffer that. Therefore, social

barriers, status symbols, class distances and credibility gaps have to be narrowed down, bridged over and eliminated, ultimately. Greater rapport and maturer understanding have to be promoted in the social fibre and societal set-up of Pakistan.

Though 'nationality' is essentially a sociological concept and 'nation' is primarily political, according to some, 'a nation is only a step further from nationality, which is the possession of or aspiration for statehood.' This is quite an explosive suggestion or situation—at least theoretically and potentially. Dr. Mac Dougall, the famous English psychologist, had suggested a way out of this dilemma long ago in his classic, "The Group Mind". In it he had expressed the view :

That it was futile "to discover the true secret of nationality in such considerations as geographical boundaries, race, language, history, and above all, economic factors...Each and all of these considerations, real and important though they are and have been in shaping the history and determining the existence of nations, only play their parts indirectly by affecting men's minds, their beliefs, opinions and sentiments, especially by favouring or repressing the idea of a nation." That is because nationality is essentially a by-product of the social psychology of a people. It implies a commonness of sentiments, ideals, interests and aspirations. These have got to be promoted, in order to evolve, unify and preserve a true and real nation.

3. Inner Strength And Resilience

In the ultimate analysis, a parochially nibbled at and corroded and regionally or culturally divisive Pakistan is a weak and vulnerable Pakistan. True strength and resilience are the products of the spirit and will of a people to survive freely and honourably. They cannot be imported by the ship-load as foreign aid or interest-free loans. 'United we stand, divided we fall' is the most fundamental adage of the social contract of political existence as a nation. Ultimately, the national interests

are and have to be paramount to the purely personal, partisan and parochial. This is the eternal hierarchy of priorities. A parochial Pakistan is a weak Pakistan—or a vulnerable one, for that matter—open to the slurs and sallies of any ruthless, ambitions, designing or imperialist-expansionist power.

4. National Ideology

Inner strength and resilience can neither be imported nor home-grown on a barren soil. They need an inspiration and a fertile milieu or frame of mind, spirit and socio-political reference. These are best provided by an all-pervasive, grass-roots type national ideology. Each nation has to elect or evolve its own, according to its own genius, compulsions and requirements — and then, to stick to it for good—not change it with every change of the cabinet. That only leads to confusion and instability — through a constant questioning of the very basis and *raison-d'être* of the nation.

The world today is aware of and experimenting seriously in three main ideologies : (i) socialism, with its Russian, Chinese and East European variation ; (ii) Western democracy ; and (iii) Islam.

We are thankful to our friends abroad for introducing us to their political and economic systems ; and wish them well, in peace and good will. The Russian (and other) solutions of their national, or nationalities questions may be good examples to learn lessons from. But Pakistan had elected its own Islamic Ideology long before the creation of Pakistan itself—which, in fact, was the very basis and reason for the Muslim demand for a separate homeland. And there's just no escape from it as long as Islam remains the living faith and religion of its masses. We have yet to give this ideology an honest try—in actual life and practice.

5. Superior Ideology

As stated earlier, in the final analysis, it is the stronger nation—strengthened by the stronger ideology—which will survive and prosper, as compared to a narrow, credo-ridden, myopic and divisive nationality, misled by small-hearted and petty-minded sub-nationalism. For this is an age of ideologies and nations, not cultural credoes and sub-nationalism.

6. True Democracy

This superior Islamic Ideology of Pakistan is the single most unifying factor of Pakistan, for it is inspired by the integrative, fraternal and egalitarian spirit of Islam, itself. It ensures true democracy, for it caters to both economic and political democracy or **both Islamic Socialism and Islamic Democracy**, which are two main and major aspects of the same religious and ideological system, Islam—which key-concepts of Islamic Secularism and the Islamic Welfare State. Democracy is meaningless without either of these. It must be remembered that theoretical fundamental rights are pointless to a starving stomach. A genuine welfare state goes beyond the subsistence level of existence ; and ensures uniform, even, equitable just and fair economic development of all classes and areas, regions and province. Otherwise, basically economic disparities—and resultant grudges and grouses—may explode as language riots and other extremist ethnic manifestations of rabid parochialism—which may or may not be further complicated by religious fanaticism and sectarian blood-letting. Such a situation is fertile breeding ground for the germination of alien-motivated subversion and enemy-agents. True democracy caters to an over all, well-rounded and wholesome socioeconomic development of the entire society. It channelises leadership into nation-building, democratic institutions, traditions, processes, practices, checks and balances and the rule of law. In Pakistan's case, it will also help to solve its many socio-economic and political problems.

Otherwise, without such ventilation and airing, subversive activities get under-ground and parochialism may erupt one day as a coup d'etat or a bloody revolution followed by counter-revolutions and worse.

The logical answer to parochialism is democracy and nationalism, not dictatorship or repression.

Simming Up

We can sum up the discussion in this chapter as follows :

The answer to the parochial problem in Pakistan is the hope and effort for a just and balanced, free and fair society based firmly on the sound and deep-rooted foundations of its Islamic Ideology. This shows us the middle path and the golden mean in all matters, sacred and mundane. Therein the people have the assurance of being wanted and important, and the sense of being, belonging and participation, of contribution to nation-building. Parochialism gets a fillip when legitimate economic and political rights are denied or parried for long. For this reason, too, an ideology has to be practical and workable, down-to-earth and realistic, catering to a nation's economic and socio-political well-being and not airy-fairy and promissory.

Historically United

Another supreme fact must also be recorded here—that historically, the present Pakistan has always been a unit and a unity, as distinct from the rest of India. The following passages from Ahmed Abdulla's book, "The Historical Background of Pakistan and Its People"¹ illustrate this point.

"Another point needs mention here. The present Pakistan comprising the four provinces of NWFP, Punjab, Sind and

Baluchistan and the State of Jammu and Kashmir is a geographical, historical, cultural, religious and racial unit.....'

"Thus the warp of one province is so deeply and inextricably woven with the woof of the other, that none can disentangle one from the other. They together form one body and one soul, having the same profile, the same lineaments and the same visage, with the Indus and its tributaries serving at the basis of economic prosperity, and Karachi as its main entrepot. Tribal stocks, religious beliefs, eating habits, dressing patterns, are all identical; Sakas, Kushans and Huns being their ancestors; Islam their faith; wheat their staple food, and shalwar-kameez their attire. Though languages differ, the script is common and Urdu is understood by all. Geographically, again, it has natural and clearly demarcated boundaries with mountains in the north and north-west, ocean in the south, desert in the south-east and south-west and River Sutlej—the last river of the Indus system—in the north-east. Both historically and geographically, areas (of the Indian Punjab) on the western side of the Sutlej, should have been part of Pakistan."

"It can be safely concluded on the basis of research carried out by western scholars, that an overwhelming majority of the people of Pakistan i.e. the Afghans/Pathans, Kashmiris, Baluchis, Punjabis and Sindhis, comprises the descendants of the Central Asian tribes of Sakas (Scythians), Kushans (Yue-chi) and White Huns (Epthalites). According to Sir Olf Caroe, the word 'Khan', so common among Afghans/Pathans, Baluchis and the Punjabis, was brought to Pakistan by the White Huns (Epthalites) in the 4th/5th centuries A.D. There may be a few remnants in all the four provinces of Pakistan and in Kashmir of the Israelis who came in 1000 B.C., of the Persians who came in 500 B.C.; of the Greeks who came in 325 B.C. and of Aryans who came here in 1500 B. C., and later the Bactrians in the 2nd century B.C. But the subsequent large-scale settlements of Sakas (1st century B.C.),

Kushans (1st century A.D.) and of the Huns (4th century A.D.) changed the entire population pattern of Pakistan. There was no large-scale migration during the Muslim period. A few Arabs came and settled in Sind. From Mahmud Ghaznavi onward only soldiers, statesmen, artists etc., came but settled mostly in northern India and not in Pakistan. Therefore the Saka-Kushan-Hun composition of Pakistan's population remains unaltered to this day.'

"Few nations in the world have such a strong and powerful homogeneity as prevails in the length and breadth of Pakistan. Few nations in the world have so many common ingredients of nationhood as Pakistan. Few nations are so fortunate as to have such a happy blending of the desert and the arable, mountains and plains, sea and land routes. And what is most fortunate is that few nations have several of these homogeneous and common factors extend, in an uninterrupted manner, beyond their frontiers, From Pakistan's western borders to Morocco, and with a southward turn enveloping the whole of western Africa, live people of the same faith—friendly, familiar fraternal. Pakistan, as such, is not only a homogeneous nation but the eastern bastion of a homogeneous 'millat' covering the huge land mass of Africa, Western Asia, Central and South Asia".

CHAPTER 5

Pakistan's Ideology And The Nationalities' Stunt

The Nature of Parochialism

Parochialism within nationalism, per se, as a fact and condition or manifestation of national life, could be regarded as quite normal, natural and universal. But it is important for national well-being that it should remain and be kept as such—normal and natural—and within the national bounds. Otherwise it may serve to extremes and grow unhealthy, warped, morbid or sordid. Parochialism grown inwards into a shell or cloister is nature run amuck or dying with asphyxia. To keep it balanced and healthy, three conditions are necessary in the national context :

- (i) A free and fruitful expression of regional cultures ; and the protection of regional interests.
- (ii) A fraternal and cooperative co-existence of sister cultures ; and the equitable and just protection of the interests of all regions and areas.
- (iii) The provision of an inspiring mother or national culture—emerging out of the local or regional cultures, which act as tributaries following into the mainstream.

The Parent Ideology

All the above are ensured by Pakistan's national ideology. For it provides the motive force, inspiration and mainspring to unity and oneness, being the single most unifying force and factor to galvanise the Pakistani nation. This claim and assertion is borne out by the nature and philosophy of Pakistan's Islamic Ideology, discussed in the following pages. It must be remembered that people escape into narrower credos out of bitterness and revenge, or disillusionment and frustration, when their fundamental rights are denied and their basic human needs are not provided. But a higher and nobler loyalty which inspires their faith, trust and confidence, weans them away from such perversions, (and even subversions), in the hope of a fuller and happier life. Such a loyalty is promised by the Islamic Ideology of Pakistan.

The Ideology

1. Islamic Spirit

"That Pakistan's viability depends, in turn, on its Islamic quality, is also true ; partly because it is only this that can call forth the loyalty and morale without which it would never have survived its first six months and would hardly survive the numerous other challenges with which for some time it will doubtless continue to be faced'.

"This loyalty and morale are already operative ; and delineate a matter of eminent importance, namely, that Pakistan is, in some sense, Islamic already. It owes its birth to the fact that it was Islamic from its conception.' . . .

"There is a sense in which Pakistan is already an Islamic society ; and there is another sense in which it is not yet an Islamic society but may become one... That Islamic ideal of what

a society ought to be like, to which Pakistani Muslims are endeavouring to adapt their nation, now that it exists.”

We can conclude from the above that :

- (i) The origin, genesis and fundamental nature of the Pakistani society and state are Islamic ; because :-
- (ii) Its ideology is basically and essentially Islamic.
- (iii) This is both a fact because it exists today as an aspiration fulfilled as well as a manifest state and society, and an ideal towards which we are still endeavouring because the Islamic State of our potential, dreams and promises —and as conceived and prescribed by Islam, has yet to be ushered in

2. The Two-Nation Theory

“The Pakistan movement was based on the Two-Nation Theory. The Quaid-e-Azam had declared that the Muslims of India were a separate nation with an individual history, a distinctive culture and a specific way of life which differentiated them from other nationalities occupying the Indian sub-continent.”

“Contacts extending over a long period of history between the Muslims and the majority Hindu community had served merely to emphasize the exclusive casteism of the Hindus as compared with the universal and egalitarian humanitarianism of Islam. Hindus and Muslims could never coalesce into the one nation because of the sharp cleavages in their outlooks on life. This was the justification offered by our leaders for our demand

for a separate homeland for the Muslims, so that they be could enabled to lead their lives in accordance with the principles of social justice enunciated by Islam, unhampered by the dominance of any other community.”¹

It can be surmised from the foregoing that :

- (i) The Two-Nation Theory is one of the bases and expressions of the Ideology of Pakistan.
- (ii) This theory is a recognition and acceptance of the fact and fundamental right of national self-determination in the Indian context.
- (iii) The theory is a recognition and expression of a historical, political, social, economic and religious fact.
- (iv) It is a fair, holistic and realistic theory, because it is as mindful of the separate identity of the Hindus as of the distinct entity of the Muslims.
- (v) It is not just negative, in that it dissociates the Muslims from the crushing hegemony of the Hindu majority, it is positive and purposive beyond the attainment of independence. For it envisions a separate and sovereign Muslim homeland wherein the Muslims could live their separate lives as Muslims.

3. Bases of Muslim Nationhood

“The Muslim was at once an Indian, belonging to the polity of the sub-continent, and at the same time a Muslim, a member of the universal brotherhood of Islam. Thus the Muslim had two parallel loyalties, instead of one being superimposed upon the other’...

1. Justice S. A. Rahman : “Ideology of Pakistan” : Essays On Pakistan, edited by : Haider Mehdi, Progressive Publishers Lahore, 1970.

"To the Muslims, his criteria of his separate nationhood were fully justified. The Hindu view was somewhat ambivalent, in that, on the one side the Hindu regarded the Indianess of the Muslim with suspicion, but, on the other, did not accept the Muslim claim to separate nationhood, either.'...

"There is a fundamental difference between the Hindu view and the Muslim view of nationality, territoriality and community. We have seen that the Hindu has been concerned more with the integrity of the territory, which he considers India and therefore his, than with the homogeneity of the group...Because India is Hinduism, the Hindu's patriotism is place-oriented and is based upon territoriality.'

"Islam as a religion is primarily concerned with the fulfilment of revelation ; it is proselytising ; it is consequently, concerned with people and therefore it is a people-oriented religion.'

"Neither did the Hindu understand the Muslim mind nor did the Muslim comprehend the working of the Hindu mind...In addition, it was not possible for the Hindu to admit that India was merely a '**notion** and **not a nation**'...Thus, while the Muslim talked of his community, his nationality and his determination to achieve nationhood on the basis of people—the Muslims—the Hindu became more and more concerned with the possibility of the religious sacrilege of his sacred soil, the vivisection of Mother India . . . The Muslim, on his side, kept insisting that there was still something in his Muslimness that created a community of common ideology with other Muslims in India.'

The following noteworthy points emerge from Dr. M.M. Qureshi's views on the subject :

- (i) The Hindu-Muslim differences were of a fundamental nature. They sprang both from the factual situation

and the difficult working of their tense relationship, and from their ideas and outlook on life.

(ii) They were spiritual in essence, for they involved a clash of two religions and ways of life.

(iii) They were also philosophical. Each nation had its own political and economic philosophy to go by.

(iv) All these divisions were absolutely irreconcilable.

4. The Nature of Pakistan's Ideology

"Pakistan claims itself to be an ideological state because it is founded on Islam . . . The real factor which sustains the state of Pakistan is the existence of a consciousness among the people of belonging to each other because a large majority of them adheres to a common aspiration, i.e. faith in Islam'...

"Consequently, the basis of nationhood in Pakistan is Islam. Islam acted as a nation-building force long before the establishment of Pakistan'...

"The same can be said respecting Patriotism...The Quaid-e-Azam was dedicated to the ideals of liberty and freedom. These ideals had precedence over everything else...Hence, the first principle of the Ideology of Pakistan, as laid down by the Quaid-e-Azam, is that for Pakistanis, Islam is the basis of their 'Nationalism' as well as 'Patriotism'.

Islamic Secularism

"Pakistan is an ideological state for it claims itself to be Islamic. It is not a "theocratic" state because Islam is essentially a polity and aspires to create a civil society. Islam does not recognise the distinction between the 'spiritual' and the 'profane'.

...Hence 'secularism' is an integral part of Islam and it is for this reason that the Islamic State assimilates the qualities of and ideal 'Secular State'.

"In the positive sense, a 'Secular State' means a state which guarantees religious freedom to every citizen and which, without distinction of religion or race, endeavours to promote the material advancement and welfare of all its citizens'...

Islamic Way of Life

"The State of Pakistan claims itself to be Islamic, firstly, because it is founded on Islam as 'Din' (—or way of life—as distinguished from 'Mazhab' or religion), a body of Islamic principles which are of universal application".¹

These guarantee all the usual and universal fundamental rights. According to Dr. Javid Iqbal, "Each of these principles can be directly traced from the Quran and the Sunnah"...and the sayings, statements and speeches of the Quaid-e-Azam.

Islamic Welfare State

"Secondly, the State of Pakistan is Islamic for the reason that although it is committed to promote the material advancement and welfare of all its citizens, like an ideal 'Secular State', it is also its duty to endeavour to promote the moral and spiritual advancement and welfare of its Muslim citizens.'...

"Consequently, the second principle of the Ideology of Pakistan, as laid down by the Quaid-e-Azam, is that for Pakistanis, Islam is the basis of their 'Secularism' as well as 'Constitutionalism'.

1. Dr. Javid Iqbal : *"Ideology of Pakistan"*, Pub. by Ferozsons Ltd., Lahore, Pakistan, 1971.

Moderation and Mixed Economy

“Islam has its own economic system...The object of Islam is to establish a balanced economic order based on fundamental human rights, which ensures that no individual can exploit another. It rejects Capitalism and Communism as two extremist viewpoints and bases its own economic system on the principles of **‘moderation’**, i.e. **‘Iqtisad’**...the maintenance of a correct balance between labour and capital’...

“If the views of the Quaid-e-Azam are explained in the light of the modern terminology of economics, he contemplated an order for Pakistan based on the **‘mixed economy’**”

Classless Society ; Peaceful Evolution

“The Quaid-e-Azam was aware that the object of the economic teachings of Islam is to realise the ideals of **equal** distribution of wealth and a **classless society** through the politico-moral principles of equality, brotherhood, justice and **evolution** (i.e. with the consent of the people secured through **democratic** means) and **not** through class hatred, violence, destruction and revolution;

“The ultimate aim of **‘Iqtisad’**, is to bring into being a **Welfare State** of the Middle Class;...”

“A community which believes in **‘Iqtisad’**, (i.e. moderation) in the sphere of economics, must naturally pursue a **bilateral** foreign policy and foreign trade’...

“The Ideology of Pakistan, when approached in the light of the Quaid-e-Azam’s statements, is simply this that Islam is a **complete code of life** for Muslims...This is precisely the reason why the Quaid-e-Azam had declared that Muslims did not have

any 'ism', and that Islam was their guide and complete code for their life."¹

Conclusions

The major conclusions that can be drawn from Dr. Javid Iqbal's foregoing discussion, are listed below :-

- (i) Political scientists and thinkers down the ages have agreed that the two main motive forces and factors which bind people into the oneness of a nation, are :

(a) the **Feeling** of being one and belonging together, and of being a nation ; and (b) the **Will** to be and remain such a unified and integrated nation. These are philosophical concepts, psychological facts and spiritual forces. The Muslims of pre-partition India were inspired and knit together by them, although they belonged to different regions and provinces, spoke various languages and had other distinguishing features. What unified them was Islam—the religion and way of life ; culture and society ; outlook and philosophy ; ideal and inspiration.

- (ii) The Ideology of Pakistan, as enunciated by Dr. Javid Iqbal, in the light of the guide-lines of the Quaid-e-Azam, is Islamic in essence, content and spirit. It is holistic and complete, taking care of the spiritual as well as the secular, the individual as also the society. It envelopes all walks of national life : political and constitutional ; economic and commercial ; diplomatic and inter-state, national and international.

1. *Dr. Javid Iqbal : The Ideology of Pakistan*, Ferozsons Ltd ; Lahore, Pakistan, 1971.

- (iii) Cues, guide-lines and land-marks for the future development of the Pakistani society and state are clearly stated in the ideas and views of the Quaid-e-Azam.
- (iv) Pakistan is envisaged as an **Islamic—Secular, Democratic, Socialistic and Welfare State** based on the **Islamic** concepts and principles of State, and Islamic tenets and teachings, **alone**. 'Iqtisad' or moderation is the key-note and guiding principle, which favours the idea of a progressively 'mixed economy' in economics, democracy in politics, and nationally-motivated bilateralism and peace in international relations. Thus, the foundations of a complete political system and social way of life are available.

It would be a rewarding study to analyse how much of today's global inflation and recession—and other economic ills—can be 'cured' with 'Islamic Economics.'

5. The Ideology Yesterday and Today

"In the ultimate analysis, the *raison d'être* of a nation is defined and determined by the ideals to which its members subscribe.'

"Ideals are meaningful only to the extent they find crystalline and institutional expression in the social life of a people. And in actualising certain well-defined ideals in society, the state, the Pakistanis believe, should play a role at once vital and positive...It should help in building...the "good society"... The state should thus help its people in leading the Islamic way of life.'

Islamic Ideology

"This, in short, is the meaning and significance of the term, "Islamic Ideology" which Pakistan professes to adhere to. Yet this ideology, this way of life, is not something that has been

inculcated or acquired after the foundation of the new state or forced from above. It is not a new manifesto that Pakistanis presented to themselves on the morrow of their freedom. On the contrary, it is as old as Islam itself. Moreover, the Indo-Pak. Muslims emerged as a new nation because they had believed in it'...

"And even as the Islamic ideology brought Pakistan into being, it had been Pakistan's unflinching faith in this ideology which held it together in the first crucial year and perhaps, for the subsequent two decades. Indeed, but for this 'integrating, and guiding principle', Pakistan would have gone to pieces'...

Islamic Democracy

"Pakistan, both when it was demanded and when it became a political fact, was envisaged as an **Islamic Democracy**'...

"And since not only as a religious faith but also as a social order, Islam is essentially democratic, Islamic democracy to Pakistanis, is "virtually a tautology", rather than a contradiction in terms. Islamic democracy is a meaningful proposition in the ideational realm; in fact, democracy, unless translated in the language of Islam, has little significance for them'...

"In the initial years, Pakistan was sincerely and seriously in quest of Islamic democracy. Because it was sustained by the ethical ideal of Islam (which largely, albeit implicitly, formed the basis of public morality), democracy generally thrived in Pakistan during the period. When later, however, the ethical ideal was increasingly ignored, democracy fell into doldrums'...

Political Exploitation of Religion

"The continued and unscrupulous exploitation of Islam by all and sundry for sheer political and personal ends has tended to dilute the loyalty of the populace to Islam, and adversely affect both the appeal and the role of Islam in Pakistani affairs'...

"Islam has been misused not only as a substitutive policy for their low responsive capabilities by various regimes in Pakistan, particularly the Ayub one, but also to justify and sustain status-quoism, impose authoritarian or semi-authoritarian rule and even protect vested interests. This exploitation of Islam by the various regimes and the vested interests led to a growing disenchantment with the ideology itself.'...

Unifying Ideology

"But despite the progressive decline of Islam as the basis for national integration, Islam continues to be a crucial factor with the masses. As Wayne A. Wilcox had put it in 1966 :

"No popular figure can govern in Pakistan without reference to the religious faith which links the leaders and the masses, and which acts as a foil to provincial and parochial loyalties. Islam is probably overrated as a factor in holding East to the national union, but it is not overrated as a rallying ground for all the people of the country"¹

"It is instructive to note here that "allegiance", whether in mere theory or actual practice, to this Islamic ideal, is the one constant landmark on the otherwise undulated Pakistani political and social landscape during these last twenty-six years'...

Islamic Socialism

"It is a measure of the hold of this ideology on the minds of the Pakistani masses that even the socialist parties have gradually moved toward an Islamic orientation. Increasingly, for instance, the Pakistan People's Party (P.P.P.) has been at pains to interpret its socialist plank in terms of Islamic notions such

1. *Ideological Dilemmas in Pakistan's Political Culture* : *South Asian Politics And Religion, Princeton, 1966* : Ed. Donald Eugene Smith.

as 'Musawat-i-Muhammadi'...To a lesser extent, the National Awami Party (NAP) has also stopped talking of secularism.'...

The Nature of Islamic Ideology

"Now, what is this Islamic Ideology which the Pakistanis continue to feel so fervidly about ? Briefly stated, it is a set of universal principles and pan-cultural values given by Islam for the social and moral guidance of mankind, and enshrined in the Holy Quran. First and foremost among them is the belief in God and His supreme sovereignty. Islam believes in fundamental human rights and basic freedoms, human brotherhood, equality of status and of opportunity, equality before law, and an individual's right to the fruit of his own labours'...

"Islam stands for social and economic justice for one and all : for a proper and equitable distribution of national wealth, for lessening economic inequality and disequilibrium and for an egalitarian society'...

"Values such as righteousness, charity, tolerance, justice and morality are under-scored. Justice and morality should govern the relations not only between individuals but also between nations...These, in brief, are the principles, the eternal values, underlying the Islamic ideology"¹

Surmise

It can be surmised that the following main points emerge from the above discussion :

- (i) All nations, like individuals, live by ideals and principles. For the Indian Muslims and Pakistanis, these are enshrined in the Islamic Ideology.

1. *Ideology of Pakistan*, by Sharif-al-Mujahid. Pub. by : Progressive Publishers, Lahore.; August, 1974.

- (ii) This ideology is not an invention of the Pakistanis or the pre-partition Indian Muslims. It is as old as Islam itself, for it is based on Islamic socio-political and economic principles.
- (iii) This ideology believes in and prescribes **Islamic Democracy and Islamic Socialism**.
- (iv) It is the duty of the people to ensure an Islamic Welfare State and the practical implementation of the Islamic Ideology and Way of Life.
- (v) Unfortunately, however, Pakistan's succeeding regimes have only abused and misused the popular ideology and religion of the masses.
- (vi) This has caused a certain degree of disillusionment among the people, both about the rulers and with the ideology itself.
- (vii) Even so, Pakistan's ideology not only created Pakistan, it also sustained it through many a national crisis, stress and strain, trial and tribulation. That is because of its popular appeal and the faith it inspires in the masses. Also, it was taken seriously in Pakistan's early years.
- (viii) The ideology of Pakistan has always been a great unifying force.
- (ix) Its popular appeal is on the ascent again. One measure of it is that even the socialist parties in Pakistan are tending towards an Islamic orientation.
- (x) That is because there is just no escape from the fundamental facts that : (a) Islam is the religion, faith and creed of the masses and even the classes in Pakistan; (b) it is a great integrative force and factor ; (c) as long as it is the popular and living religion and way of life, **socialism or no socialism, it is impossible to evade or hoodwink Islam.**

- (xi) All pressure groups, power elites and pace-makers in Pakistan seem to have wisely accepted these facts.
- (xii) The Islamic Ideology of Pakistan stands for an egalitarian and emancipated society, and a democratic, progressive and enlightened welfare state. As such, it suggests a complete and scientific system of state-craft and way of life.

ISLAM : AS PAKISTAN'S NATIONAL IDEOLOGY AND WAY OF LIFE

Doubts And Debates

There has been no end to the discussion on the Ideology of Pakistan. And perhaps none is in sight. It is ironic that a settled issue has not been allowed to be settled by the various generations of Good Samaritans, Sancho Panza-style do-gooders, political pundits, arm chair politicians, politickers and self-seekers in our country. Never, perhaps, has a nation doubted its own *raison d'être* and justification, viability and potential so much. Never has one been more apologetic about its own existence. This is what one would call compulsive and sub-conscious or sub-liminal ideological subversion, in peace-time and war. By such psy-war, you shake the very foundations of a people by shaking its faith in itself and sapping its will to live and protect its sovereignty. And the will to survive does not, essentially, mean the will to war. When a nation begins to doubt its own validity and being, it is quite certainly on the way to disintegration.

I fail to understand why we are not yet sure whether Pakistan is a religious or secular state. Whether its ideology is Islamic—or Islam—or western-democratic (—capitalistic?) or socialistic. Whether the Two Nation Theory has failed with the emergence of Bangla Desh,—etc. etc.,—ad infinitum. Debates and disputations are theoretical; sovereign national existence is a total commitment, fact and reality.

Many Factors

No doubt many factors and forces were at play in the creation of Pakistan e.g., historical, political, psychological, cultural, social, religious and economic. But the **religious** and **cultural** factors cannot be ignored either. In fact, they were **predominant**—at least at that time. I wonder what, (if not religion), is behind the frequent, continued and contemporary communal riots in India ?

Religion and Political Tactics

The point is, many of us seem to be suffering from an acute (national or personal?) inferiority complex. When I say we, I mean a few of us—especially some of the fashionably socialistic and imitatively western. We feel ashamed to call ourselves Muslims. The other day an intellectual of Pakistan was suggesting that, as a matter of strategy, we group ourselves by some other name than Muslims. Of course, he was talking in the context of war. Even so, I assure him that we will still be “dubbed” as Muslims, good or bad. There is just no escape from the reality of ourselves ! No doubt, a friend is a friend and an enemy is an enemy, by whatever name you call him. But why not be realistic enough to recognise and call them by their real names ?

Loss of Identity

Let us please not disown ourselves—or we will be like the disinherited and disowned Anglo-Indians of partition-time. If there are disadvantages in being decried as Muslims—which are really illusory and imagined, there are historical, real and definite advantages in the distinction, also. The supreme advantage is one of **Identity and Ideology**—of being and belonging. We know who we are, where we belong and what we stand for. Apart from that, why else are we pleading for Muslim Brotherhood, the R. C. D., a Commonwealth of Muslim States and Pan-

Islamism etc. etc.? If we declaim ourselves as Muslims, we not only disown the Muslim fraternity, we also lose its universal sympathy and good-will—in war and peace. If we are not Muslims—what are we—Hindus, Christians, Sikhs or Buddhists ; socialists, communists or capitalists ; Asians, Africans or Westerns?! Or just nothing ? The moment we cease to be Muslims, at least “generically”, if not really—we lose our identity and cease to be anything at all—unless, by a miracle of transmutation, we graft another personality, loyalty or nationality on ourselves. The result would be depersonalisation and sinking into a void and vacuum. Of confusion worse confounded. Of a loss of personality and identity.

Therefore, we might as well accept ourselves and settle down with our identity and ideology as they are. And then launch whole-heartedly on the road to national consolidation and progress.

True Muslim ; True Socialist

Some protagonists of scientific or materialistic socialism in Pakistan say that all these three decades we have only preached Islam and not practised it. True. But the fault lies with us; not with Islam. Our religion has given us an identity, ideology and a complete code and practicable way of life. It cannot implement the ideology for us. We have to do the practising and implementation ourselves, just as we do the preaching and oratory—both Islamic and socialistic. Islam has been much politicised, publicised and pulpited in Pakistan, but it has not been practised. The fault lies squarely with the politicians, the policy makers and the various governments—and not the people. That has been the sordid conspiracy ; that our national betrayal and tragedy.

Religion : Way of Life

For the people could practise Islam only as a religion in their private and social lives. They have been doing so quite success-

fully, on the whole—at least so far as the rituals, rites and ceremonies, belief and faith, culture and social mores go. And I am talking of the hard-core bulk of our rural, poor and middle classes. But it was not up to the people to implement Islam as a socio-moral code and way of national life—politically, economically, administratively, legally, judicially and even socially. For the framing of laws and their enforcement is the bounden duty of the state and the government.

I am often asked by some of my socialist friends to point out one true Muslim in Pakistan. I retort by saying : “Where is your one genuine socialist ?” And of course, no one has ever been able to prove how Islam has stood in the way to progress. Mullaism is no more Islam than pseudo-socialism or anarchism is socialism. You will find innumerable Muslims in Pakistan who are true, genuine, sincere, believing and practising Muslims—both in their private and public lives. But I have yet to come across such a socialist. If I do, I will respect him for the courage of his convictions—though I may not share them, necessarily.

The Fact

The fact of the matter is that it has always been an unholy alliance of deep-rooted and power hungry vested interests. A motley, discordant, incongruous assortment of opportunists and self-seekers, emerging sometimes in the name of Islam, sometimes democracy and sometimes socialism. No one—with, perhaps, some rare exceptions—was well-meaning. Feudals and politicians, capitalists and bureaucrats (whether civil or military) ganged up as robber-baron exploiters, to mesmerise, mislead and befool the masses in the name of the masses and of course, of Islam.

The Turning Point

It is time that this exploitation were ended. For the masses are now wide-awake. They are not only politically alive and

conscious of their rights, they can also grab them. But grabbing means anarchy. It may also entail a civil war. Pakistan just cannot afford another war or even turmoil—over the dead bodies and blood of others. Pakistan is now too small and weak for another colossal madness. It cannot be allowed to become the testing ground of political theorists and textbook revolutionaries. We Pakistanis are a bit too generous with the rights, properties and lives of others. It is alright to talk glibly of sacrificing everything for a national revolution. But what if in the process, the revolution disintegrates the nation, itself, God forbid? Will all the sacrifice—in terms of agony and suffering, rights and liberties, blood and life, be worth making—when it would have defeated its very object and purpose? By comparison (—Not that I hold a brief for any side), the so-called ‘rightists’ are more moderate—historically and politically; by nature and temperament, intent and purpose. Perhaps because they have more vested interest at stake and to lose. But all are basically after power or, at least most on either side.

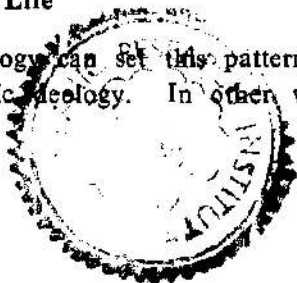
Peaceful Evolution

If we can -- wisely and sanely -- accept the principle of peaceful, active and purposeful coexistence with others, our neighbours and even our enemies, it is all the more necessary and natural to coexist peacefully, democratically and progressively among ourselves as a single, unified and well-integrated nation.

The way to peaceful progress is the evolutionary way. It is the Islamic way of peace, brotherhood, freedom, moderation and equality. Evolution need not necessarily be snail-paced. It is for us to programme and phase it and to set the pace.

Islamic Way Of Life

Pakistan's Ideology can set this pattern and pace. Our Ideology is the Islamic Ideology. In other words, Islam is the



Ideology of Pakistan. Islam not just as a progressive, modern and emancipated religion, but as a complete code and way of national life—political, economic, social, judicial, administrative—and also in ‘international’ or inter-state relations.

Islam upholds the principle of the golden mean and the middle path, in all matters, secular and sacrosanct. The Islamic Ideology, which is the Ideology of Pakistan, envisages an ‘Islamic secular’, democratic, socialistic and welfare state. The distinction between the holy and the mundane is irrelevant to Islam. For man’s duty to man cannot be ignored. Hermitage asceticism and professional priesthood or Mullaism are discarded by it. Recluses are discouraged. Man must live a full, useful, well-balanced and comprehensive life on this earth.

“Mullaism”

Islam is not “Mullaism”—die-hard, rigid, rabid, obscurantist, fanatic, moribund and anachronistic. It is modern, scientific, progressive, peaceful and evolutionary. Those who dub Islam as outdated, have not really studied, understood and appreciated it. Or if they have, they are scared of the sacrifices, discipline, hardships and difficulties, self-denial, self-restraint and self-culture, for man and society, that it entails. But they must not forget that socialism is no less rigorous—and even strait-jacketed—with the added loss of individual liberty and personal freedom. But Islam ensures and guarantees all the fundamental and inalienable, natural human rights. Therefore, it is essential to wrest Islam out of the monopolistic clutches of anachronistic ‘Mullaism’, and reinterpret and practise it as a progressive system and way of life.

Superior Ideology

This is an age of clashing, competing, co-existing ideologies—political and economic ideologies and materialistic and spiritual ideologies. Whether these ideologies learn to coexist

peacefully and survive on a global scale or not, is for time to tell. The world's survival rests on that. But the fact remains that this contention of ideologies is motivated by a lust for economic power, to be ensured by political or ideological motivation. Generally speaking, within each nation, detente between such competing ideologies on a democratic party-system basis would be essential for national cohesion. But in the case of Pakistan's peculiar circumstances, any cut-throat rivalry of ideologies may be a dangerous game, for it is an ideological state whose ideology is pre-determined in its Freedom Movement and is the very foundation and basis of its creation, destined in its history and built into its geo-political compulsions. Theoretically it can be said that in the end, the superior ideology will triumph. But at what cost and price, and with what consequences ?

Talking of contending ideologies on a regional and global basis, the main motive forces in either case are : (i) economic interests ; (ii) political power ; and (iii) national identity. These over-ride the purely theoretical and ideational aspects of ideology—or why, to give only one example, would the socialist camp be divided within itself and the Sino-Soviet differences not be resolved ? On the national level, the main motivating factor in Pakistan has often been brute political power rather than nationalism.

The world may not be interested in Islam as a religion. But the West remembers the grilling it had at its hands for ages. This has become a part of its historical-collectives subconscious. And the world is much more aware of Islam's potential and challenge as an ideology than the Muslims themselves. Geo-politically, Islam represents a strong, rich, populous and strategic pressure group in international forums and the global economy. It can well be a leader of the Third World and Afro-Asia. The recent oil and gold weapons or petro-dollars displayed and energy crisis generated by the Muslims is a measure of this pressure group and eastern 'elite' and 'Fourth World'.

So, if Islam is being run down, it is inspired and not just accidental and without reason. This also explains the sinister move to dislodge Pakistan from its natural South-West Asian and Muslim World setting and to place it exclusively under the Indian hegemony over South Asia. The British Indian Empire could thus re-emerge in its ancient glory—made all the more invincible with nuclear teeth.

Apart from the above, the contending ideologies of the world can be classified into two broad categories : (i) materialistic (i.e. capitalism, socialism and communism) ; and (ii) religious (e.g. Hinduism, "Jewism" and Islam). Israel and India may call themselves secular. But the fact remains that they are not only rabidly religious, they are also bigotedly and militantly anti-Muslim. In fact, their very survival depends on that. Ideological subversion—coupled with militaristic adventurism, when it suits them, seem to be their main weapons. On the whole, the religious ideologies may be weaker today than the materialistic ones. But, they are coming to the fore as regional powers and pressure groups.

Pakistan's Ideology

It is in this context that Pakistan's Islamic Ideology becomes more meaningful. As stated earlier, the nature of Pakistan's Ideology is a settled question. That is because not only was Pakistan created in the name of Islam, it was also created for Islam and the Muslims, as an all-embracing, comprehensive and complete way of life. We have only to remember the views, sayings and utterances of Allama Iqbal and the Quaid-e-Azam, to believe this. I will now quote only the Quaid-e-Azam briefly, in this context, just to have a bird's eye-view of this opinions on some vital issues.

VIEWS OF THE QUAID

Pakistan's Ideology

"It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundations of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that 'our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations.'"¹

Fundamental Right

"What reason is there for anyone to fear democracy, equality, freedom on the highest standard of integrity and on the basis of fairplay and justice for everybody?"²

Secularism : Theocracy

"The great majority of us are Muslim...Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake : Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds"³

Secular State

"There exists a unanimity among the Muslim jurists of the past regarding the distinction between a secular state and an Islamic state. According to this Consensus⁴ the Secular State is founded on principles derived through human reasoning, and therefore, it promotes the material welfare of its citizens only in this world. On the other hand, the Islamic State is based on

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1. *Speech at Sibi Durbar : 14-2-1948.*
 2. *Address to the Karachi Bar Association : 25-1-1948.*
 3. *A Radio Broadcast Talk to the People of Australia : 19-2-1948.*
 4. *The "Muqqadima" by Ibn Khaldun : 1332-1406 AD.*

principles derived through Revealed Law, and therefore, it promotes the material advancement and welfare of its citizens not only in this world, but also prepares Muslim citizens for the hereafter through promoting their spiritual advancement and welfare. In other words, the **Islamic State embraces the qualities of an Ideal Secular State, but in addition to it, endeavours to promote** the spiritual advancement and welfare of its Muslim citizens. It was precisely in this sense that the **Quaid-e-Azam** desired Pakistan to be an **Islamic Democracy—a democracy embracing the qualities of an ideal secular democratic state and at the same time, endeavouring to promote the spiritual advancement and welfare of its Muslim citizens.**”¹

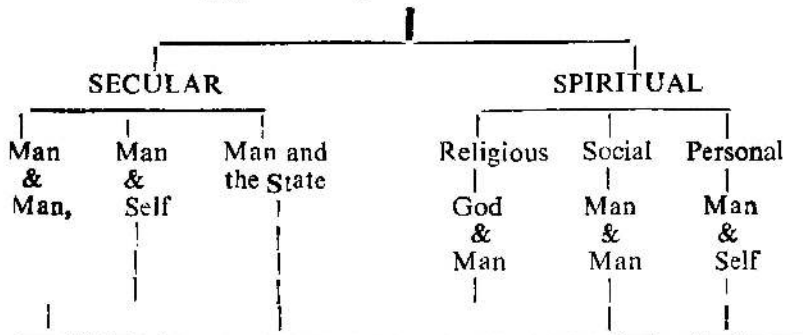
RESUME

To sum up, Islam is not outdated or rigid, as is alleged by some. It is modern, progressive and for all times. It has been both misunderstood and maligned, misused and abused. It needs to be studied and reinterpreted painstakingly, sincerely and honestly. Of course, its truthful implementation requires rigorous self-and social-discipline, dedicated sacrifice and self-denial. But so does anything worth achieving—and any other system or ideology worth its name.

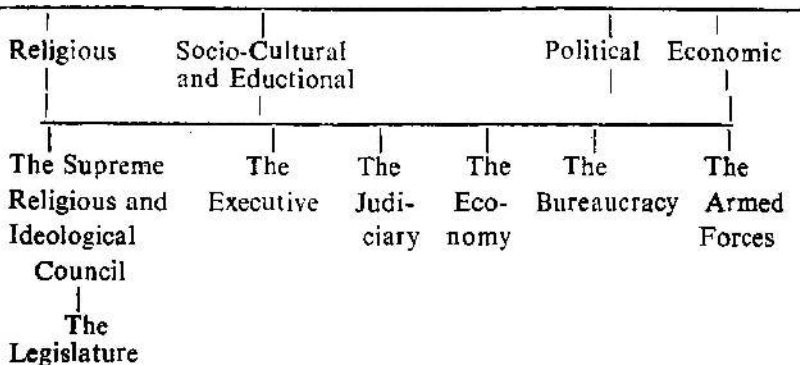
Pakistan's Ideology is the Islamic Ideology or Islam itself, which sponsors the ideals of a democratic, welfare state. If reduced to a chart or tree, the all-embracing Islamic Way of Life could be symbolised graphically as follows, covering all walks of human life and all the roles, relations, rights, duties and obligations of a human being and of the state. **It must be remembered that Islamic Socialism and Islamic Democracy are two pillars of the same Islamic system, the former unholding its economic aspect or economic democracy and the latter its socio-political character or political democracy.**

1. Dr. Javid Iqbal : *“The Legacy of the Quaid-e-Azam”*. Ferozsons Ltd, Pakistan 1967.

THE ISLAMIC WAY OF LIFE



The Islamic Ideology manifest in : The Religious, Socio-Political and Economic System of the Islamic Welfare State. : Islamic Socialism, Islamic Secularism and Islamic Democracy.



To introduce the above system, export organisations and bodies will need to be set up, to recast the existing order and system according to the spirit and intent of the Islamic values, laws, tenets, ideals and principles. In such a modernistic, reinterpetative and progressive revivalism, the religious political parties and religious institutions can play a significant role. They could concentrate less on petty, parochial, party and personal politics and pay more attention to national consolidation and nation-building. Education, medicine, social service, community care and welfare work are spiritually rewarding and humanising spheres of

activity. The mosque can once again emerge as a progressive seat of religious enlightenment, a provider of sound general and basic education like the olden "Maktab", as welfare home like a "Dawa-Khana" for the ailing and as a sanctuary for the benighted way-farer and homeless. The Maulvis can still be the "hakeems" of the by-gone days; and like China's barefoot country doctors. If the "Hakeems" and homoeopaths of Pakistan want recognition as doctors, they must accept the challenge of service to fellow man and venture forth where an allopath does not dare to tread !

The Islamic Way of Life is the humane and realistic way. It implies an equitable sharing of natural and human resources and fruits. It is 'revolutionary' in its own way—bloodless and peaceful—for it intends to transform society and better the human lot completely. But all "revolutions" and "ideologies" first begin in the mind. We must first agree and accept to reform ourselves willingly and then will we be able to initiate the process of transformation. But it has to be a total acceptance; and a total break with and change from the past. Piecemeal patch-work and showmanship won't do. It has to be selfless, sincere, deep-rooted, wide-spread, purposive, peaceful and progressive. Dedicated and continuous. Only then will we be able to salvage and consolidate what is left of Pakistan. So long as Islam remains the religion of the Pakistani masses, the politicians have no choice but to accept it as the National Ideology and Way of Life!—which upholds socio-political and economic creative evolution and reformation as an effective and scientific means of transforming society.

After all it is only Islam which has been the single most sustaining force, paywar weapon, rallying call and integrative factor in Pakistan from 1947 to date. That is the only abiding inspiration, motive force and friend we have ever had. Let us then, be grateful for this blessing, respect and value, preserve, promote

and practise it. For survival we don't have to duck under other ideologies, falsely or failingly, but to accept and promote our own, whole-heartedly. It is necessary to project our image as a sovereign, distinct, progressive and peaceful Pakistan. In brief, as Pakistan itself-whole, able and strong; and not as someone's geo-political client or ideological satellite. For it makes no sense to discard our own heritage and ideology, and then go groping in the dark for substitutes. I firmly believe that Pakistan can—and should—be friendly to one and all, big or small—and especially its neighbours—while retaining its sovereign, independent and distinct identity and individuality, personality and entity, ideology and way of life. Afterall, we cannot forget that just as we are Muslims and Pakistanis, we are also easterns and Asians. The loss of identity is the loss of self. The acceptance of self is the recognition of reality and the first step towards self-discovery and self-realisation.

'IDEOLOGISING' PAKISTAN'S POLITICS

The Nature of Politics

'Politics are a dirty game', goes the adage. 'All is fair in love and war !,' is another immortal saying that seems to date back to times immemorial. It appears to be applied increasingly in recent times to the loves, hates and wars of politics, too.

The trouble with sayings and proverbs is that with the passage of time, they begin to be taken as the gospel truth. We forget that they are man-made generalisations and at best, convenient repositories of the wisdom and folklore of common experience. No rule, no matter how universal, is without its exceptions. Another saying is that almost inherently, generalisations tend to be or become illicit. But most human beings, in there frail choice of short cuts and the line of least resistance in thought and action, are inclined to use even dated and hackneyed cliches and sayings, generalisations and proverbs as rationalistic

justifications of and permissive covers for whatever they think, believe or do.

The Malady

Thus, the expression, 'politics are a dirty game', is being used more and more to rationalise the feuds and vendettas so common to day's politics anywhere. That precisely—ironically—is the trouble with politics. Not that they are dirty per se—essentially and innately. But they are made so. Every game has its objectives and criteria, rules and principles, which maintain the balance and keep it fair and worthwhile. But in politics, fairness is made synonymous with foulness—and that turned into the rule ! That, then, is exactly the malady of politics.

The Cure

And what is the cure for the malady? Simplistically : substitute the word 'dirty' with 'healthy and fair'. Thus : 'politics are a fair/healthy game'. That should be the norm and standard, objective and criterion; the rule of the game of politics. Judging by any realistic, moral or intellectual standard, we all know it for an established and eternal fact and a universal truth that all neither is—nor ever was —fair in love, war or anything else, for that matter.

An Ideological State

Pakistan is nothing, if not an ideological state. The above is—or should be—all the more true of and applicable to such a state. From a mere casual or callous game, politics must become a serious human and nationalistic goal and aim ; in fact, a dedicated mission. That would call for sober, honest and sustained introspection and truth-seeking catharsis on a national scale. For Pakistan has so far been an ideological state and its politics, ideological, in name only.

Moralising Politics

To effect a proper political purgation, politics in Pakistan will have to be humanised and moralised. In fact, 'ideologised', i.e., be given an ideological basis and direction, tone and tenor, character and conduct, spirit and content. Pakistan's very justification, existence and salvation lie in that. Indeed, that is the only way to rid this country of its factionalism, a plethora of multiple parties and splinter groups, parochialism and the cult and curse of the purely selfish and ego-centric, petty, personal and partisan.

'Ideologising' Politics

Politics in Pakistan have so far revolved round the individual and personal. Parties and their programmes have come and gone with fallible, imperfect and short-lived individuals. Principles have been jettisoned. Institutions and traditions thrown out to the winds and waves of history. All this has led to selfishness ; to grabbing and gagging ; with the result that democracy has suffered endlessly. The more the contending individuals, leaders coteries, cliques, groups and vested interests, the large the number of political parties. This was against the very spirit of democracy—both western and Islamic. For the former is shaky in a multiple party system. That is why democracies like Britain, West Germany and the U.S.A. have, by deliberate choice expressed either in legislation or tradition and practice, decided to limit the number of their political parties — and make them truly nationalistic. Thus the success of their democracies. France, on the other hand, has often been beset with the malady of its numerous political parties. What has kept it going is : (i) its sound democratic traditions and institutions ; and (ii) its truly democratic, nationalistic and freedom-loving spirit. Similarly, Islam discourages the multiple party system because it believes in the rule of law and rule by consent, consensus and cooperation and not cut-throat competition—which is typical of the many party system.

The Islamic Ideology

Politics in Pakistan can be humanised, moralised and 'ideologised', through its chosen ideology—Islam, which is a complete code and way of national life ; and based, according to Allama Iqbal, on the following fundamental principles :-

- (i) **Religious Humanism:-** 'The recognition and acceptance of and total submission to an order of goodness and power greater than any that this world can show.' All this in the service of God and man ; brother and compatriot.
- (ii) **Enlightened and Altruistic Individuality or Individualism** —the 'Khudi,' Self or Ego.
- (iii) **Creativity :** for the individual and collective, general, national and universal human good—moral and material. 'Creativity is antithetical to conformism and imitation' —whether western or eastern, religious or secular. 'Wherever there is 'asking', in Iqbal's language, there is dehumanisation, for in the act of borrowing, the intellect reduces itself to the position of an 'object', and loses its uniqueness and individuality ' Further, 'in religion one has to move beyond the doctrinal stage to the stage of discovery.' Dogma and rituals, alone, would not do. The spirit of precepts and principles, as practised in daily life, is essential.
- (iv) **Freedom** based on broad moral principles and religious values. It would be pragmatic and humanistic, motivated and inspired, spiritually-oriented and responsible—with the mission to serve the nation and humanity through the Islamic Ideology - which is its inspiration, motivation and guide.

- (v) **Islamic Politics**: "Iqbal has no sympathy with those political theories and practices which, in the name of national integrity, suppress the individual and his rights. Iqbal is vehemently opposed to all sorts of colonialism and dictatorship, and upholds the rights of the individual to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, subject to the dictates of the Holy Quran & Sunnah."¹

Islamic Democracy :

"The Constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed..... I do not know what the ultimate shape of this Constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today they are as applicable in actual life, as they were 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fair-play to everybody."²

The Islamic Ideology and Politics recommend:

- (i) Islamic Democracy.
- (ii) Islamic Secularism.
- (iii) And the Islamic Welfare State.

The term 'Islamic Secularism', far from being a contradiction in terms, derives its justification from the fact that in Islam, the distinction between the spiritual and the mundane, the religious and secular, is pointless. This life is a preparation for the next, the here for the hereafter. Islam looks at life as a totality and a whole and not as one of personal and social, political and spiritual water-tight compartments. Such labels are merely for convenient referencing and such classification, for practical identification, alone.

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1. Dr. C. A. Qadir : "*Iqbal as a Humanist And Educator*" : *The Pakistan Times*, dated 20.4.75.
 2. *The Quaid-e-Azam : Broadcast to the U.S.A. Feb , 1948.*

Islamic Democracy, unlike western democracy, is qualitative and ethical, not quantitative and numerical. Its success depends not on a counting of votes, heads and hands, but the willing and wise cooperation of heads and hearts. It implies and insists on active consent, consensus and cooperation and not cut-throat competition. That is why a multi (ple) party system has no scope in it, for this breeds weakness, rivalry and feuds instead of healthy competition and even cooperation based on principles, values and ideals.

The Islamic Welfare State envisages all the universal fundamental human rights in a society created on brotherhood, equality and freedom. Such a society is moderate and well-balanced, for it follows the golden mean and the middle path in all matters—personal and social, economic and political, religious and worldly, national and international.

Islamic National (ist) Government :

The result of all this is that an "Islamic National (ist) Government" and an "Islamic National (ist) Opposition" become a necessity in such an 'Islamic (Secular) Democracy and Welfare State'. For Islam prescribes '**rule by and of the best**'. That means the best not just in the ruling party but in the entire nation. Such a National (ist) Government (of major national parties, proportionately formed), is a strong and viable government, for unlike the usual coalition government, it is soldered together by ideological principles and values and is ideologically inspired and nationally motivated. And it has the willing consent and active cooperation of the entire nation.

Both the National Government and Opposition are inspired by the same ideology. They differ only in the details of their party programmes, emphasis and timing; not on funda-

mental principles and basic values. These basic principles and values are :-

- (i) The Islamic Ideology of the State, ensuring Islamic Secularism, Democracy and the Welfare State; and an Islamic National (ist) Government & Opposition. Such a system has, at the most, room for a two or three-party set-up, i.e., the government or ruling party and the opposition, or the rightists and moderates or centrists, or the purely religious and the moderately secular, etc.. This ideology also promises a desirable balance between economic democracy and political democracy, as the one without the other is only theoretical, meaningless and incomplete.
- (ii) Islam as a personal and state religion and way of life—which is emancipated, enlightened, egalitarian, modern, progressive, liberal and democratic.
- (iii) Nationalism (above the self and personal, parochial and partisan), ensuring peace and progress, strength, stability and sovereignty; freedom and liberty—and all the fundamental and human rights.
- (iv) Peaceful co-existence with neighbours.
- (v) Universal brotherhood and global peace.
- (vi) Islam : (a) Internally/nationally as a fountain-head of ideological inspiration and national motivation; and (b) externally, regionally and internally, as a geopolitical and strategic compulsion, rich in human & material resources and economic potential.

Value-Oriented Society :

Despite all our mammonism and westernism, albeit our historical poverty—and, in spite of all our promissory materialistic political slogans rather than programmes—thank God, ours is still a moral or ethical and value-oriented traditional society

living by conventional mores and religious principles. Our salvation, in the final analysis, lies in recognising, accepting and making use of this fact. Any political party which intends to remain long in the hearts and minds of people, must base itself and programme its future on this inescapable fundamental fact.

In other words, the emphasis must shift from materialism to spiritualism, from mere promises of or demands for rights to a realisation of duties, from taking to giving, from selfishness to altruism, from playing safe to commitment, from grabbing to the civic sense of citizenship, from alienation to participation, from parochialism and provincialism to nationalism, from the petty, personal and partisan to ideological principles and values; from cynicism to inspiration and from confusion to motivation. Also, from jingoism to peace. Above all, selfless, sacrificial and enlightened patriotism and nationalism must, once again, become the hall-mark of the national psyche and endeavour. There cannot, really, be any substitute for the principle of simple living and high thinking on a continuous national scale. Nor for the Quaid-e-Azam's national motto, prescribing "Unity, Faith and Discipline" for the people of Pakistan, now and for ever. These are simple truths and basic facts which we have been neglecting, to our great anguish, distress and undoing.

The Politician As Exemplar :

We have seen in the short span of just a few years that tall materialistic slogans and promises just won't do. For one reason, that they are not practicable and within reach or means, entirely. A poor country with limited resources and an exploding population, can't seem to do much about inflation, price hikes and spirals and other socio-economic evils—except to count its blessings and be on the lookout for the proverbial silver lining to its dark clouds ! Another reason is that economic democracy, even at its best and in the best of times, is no substitute for political democracy and vice-versa.

Likewise, there is no substitute for action. Slogans and promises, words and cliches just won't suffice any longer. People want action and implementation. Therefore, it is essential that the promissory should be cut down to reality—be reasonable, realistic, realisable and actionable, feasible and practicable and similarly, the 'promiser' be accountable and answerable. These are the dictates of Reality. These are the dictates of realism, in order to ensure that what is programmed, comes true and is translated into action. That is possible when personalised democracy is transformed into true, institutionalised democracy with its usual, built-in checks and balances, traditions, rule of law, fundamental rights etc.

But neither such party programmes can be implemented nor the proposed Islamic Ideology put to practice without an ideologically motivated and dedicated collective leadership which can, in turn, ideologically inspire the people to contribute their very best and all, to the national cause of integration, consolidation and progress. Such leaders are Iqbal's "Murd-e-Momin", exemplars, educators and men of action. The throes of agony and rebirth through which our society is passing, may yet unfold and throw up such a collective leadership. For without such educators, exemplars, and men of action—whose own life and conduct are a living example and inspiration to the nation—we are nowhere. People are, today, politically conscious and wide-awake enough to demand deeds and action and not be misled or mesmerised by words alone, no matter how demagogic or oratorical. Rhetorics and histrionics are out for good. For such men of action will install a self-regenerating system and chainreaction wherein leaders will be educators and exemplars, and the true friends, philosophers and guides of the people. Thus tiers after tiers of leadership will be generated.

Only then will be able to bridge the credibility gap of this nation of cynics and salvage what is left of it.

CHAPTER - 6

Pakistan's Geo-Political And Strategic Compulsions

The Quintessence

of the geo-political and strategic compulsions of Pakistan is the pivotal fact of its geographic and strategic location, and of its history—that: “The present Pakistan comprising the four provinces of the NWFP, Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan, and the State of Jammu and Kashmir, is a geographical, historical, cultural, religious and racial unity.....They are also economically inter-dependent, with the Punjab and Sind producing food and fibre in plenty, and Baluchistan and NWFP having mineral and forest wealth in abundance. They also present a unique example of the intermingling of the people of one province with the other.”¹

These compulsions date back to hoary history—to the endless raids and rules of different races over the subcontinent; and also, to the confrontation of Islam and Hinduism. In the past, they ensured that the Indus Valley and the Padma-Meghna Delta (of the two wings of Pakistan) remained independent of the Hindu-ruled Gangetic Vally. Instead, they provided homelands to the new Muslims of the Indo-Pak subcontinent. Thus it is that today these Muslims of Pakistan and Bangladesh stand out and shine forth as Islam's defiance and daring of Hindu

euphoria, chauvanism and militant nationalism, perhaps even of their moribund misanthropy, so far as the Muslims of these regions go. They are also an outstanding evidence of the failure of Hindu jingoism to assimilate or absorb, dominate or subdue Islam.

Again, today these very historical, geo-political and strategic compulsions of Pakistan establish firmly and fully that Pakistan is an indivisible unit and unity. This fact, gospel truth and lesson of history is fully borne out repeatedly by the following considerations. What is also essential to be realised is that Pakistan's future, progress and prosperity, indeed, its very safety, security and survival, lie in this historical, geo-political and strategic necessity, compulsion and unity.

Sinister Scenario :-

"Pakistan's geographical position creates special perils and problems. She stands athwart Russia's easiest access to those warm water ports which would allow the Soviet fleet to dominate the Arabian Sea, Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. With the growing oil crisis, no western power can ignore the reality of this threat. Internal forces of secession in Pakistan are being actively assisted and fostered by Afghanistan, with the encouragement of India and the USSR."¹

The pulls, pressures and compulsions to which Pakistan has been subjected right from its inception, are numerous and varied, persistent and forceful. They are both internal and external. Some, like its present geographical location and the former two wings of the country, were inherent and built-in. Others are the result of the sins of omission and commission of its rules

1. L. F. Rushbook Williams : *"Pakistan Under Challenge"*—*Stacey International, London, 1975.*

and people. An attempt will be made in this chapter to locate and analyse the more important of these and to trace how they have affected in the past and might yet affect, the destiny of this young nation-state. There can be no escape from reality, say the realists. Pakistan's reality is based on its geo-political and strategic compulsions. These include not only its peculiar geography and location, but also its politics and economy, its institutions, power elites and pressure groups ; its masses and classes ; its history, culture and ideology ; its regions and provinces ; as also, its neighbours, friends and enemies—in brief, its national policy and politics and its international relations.

Pakistan's Location :

According to the late Dr. Kazi S. Ahmed, “(West) Pakistan has a varied relief, consisting as it does of plains, plateaux and mountains watered by the Indus river and its tributaries. ‘Climatically’ it is a country with a continental type of climate and nowhere is there excessive rainfall.’ It ‘produces wheat, millets and cotton, and crops that do not require much water... Several different languages are spoken . . . including Punjabi, Pushto, Sindhi and Baiuchi, but Urdu, the national language, is widely spoken and understood.’

The relief map of Asia shows that “a peninsular landmass lies to the south of the Asiatic Continent. This is the subcontinent of Indo-Pakistan which is cut off from the rest of the continent by the Himalayan mountains and their off-shoots to the south.’ On the West of the subcontinent is Pakistan.

“Pakistan is bounded on the north by Himalayan mountains. A narrow arm of Afghanistan, Wakhan, separates Pakistan from Russian Turkestan. The Chinese territories of Sinkiang and Tibet border Kashmir on the north and the east. The Pakistan China boundary is 372 miles long. On the west, low-dry hills

separate Pakistan from Afghanistan and to the south, in Baluchistan, it has a common frontier with Iran, for 500 miles. On the east, Pakistan is bounded by the Indian states of the Punjab and Rajasthan, and the Arabian Sea lies to the South of the country.'

"On the globe, Pakistan lies between 24°N and 37°N latitude and between 61°E and 75.7°E longitude. Pakistan has a long border with India. For the most part there are no natural features like rivers and mountains to form the boundary and this does much to explain the many border disputes that have occurred so far. The border with India is 910 miles long.'

"The boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan is known as the Durand Line after Sir Mortimer Durand who helped to demarcate it in 1897. It is about 1,400 miles long. Its northern section passes through difficult mountain regions and the southern part, in northern Baluchistan, through dry, desolate areas. In the central part there are several passes from the Khyber Pass to the Bolan Pass.'

"According to the census of 1961, the total area of (the new) Pakistan is 3,10,403 square miles.' As regards population, according to the latest census, it is six crores and forty eight lacs. Pakistan's peculiar strategic location 'gives it an internationally important position among the Muslim nations. It is linked with the Muslim countries of South-West Asia, which are often grouped together under the title of the Middle East countries. These countries are all rich in oil. Further west lie the Arab countries of North Africa, so that there is one continuous bloc of Muslim countries from the Indus basin to the Atlantic.'

Pakistan is also connected with South-East Asia and the littoral states through the Afro-Asian (or Indian) Ocean. These are rich in agricultural and mineral resources. These countries include the sovereign Muslim states of Malaysia and Indonesia.

"Thus Pakistan, besides being in many ways geographically unique, is also of central importance in the Islamic world."¹

1. *"A Geography of Pakistan"* by Dr. Kazi S. Ahmed, S.I. Pub : Oxford Univ. Press, Pakistan, 1975.

The Implications of Geography

It is evident from the foregoing that the location and situation of a country influence its :

- (i) Climate, produce and resources—mineral and material, agricultural and industrial, and even human, organisational and institutional—for they provide it with the natural wherewithal and stock-in-hand to cash-in on, capitalise upon and live by.
- (ii) History—as affected by one's neighbours and foreign relations.
- (iii) Culture, ideology and way of life, political and social, being determined both by internal and external factors, by the climate as well as by trade, commerce and international relations ; by history and geography, both.
- (iv) Foreign policy and strategy for survival—of war and peace. One has to coexist peacefully with neighbours—and sometimes live in spite of them—and with the help of friends, near and far.
- (v) Trade and economy, both national and international. We have to sell the surplus, produce the required, within and without the country, and obtain or import what is absent or deficit. A country's geography largely determines its human and material, natural, mineral and agricultural resources.

The National Ideology of any nation, is its all-embracing and comprehensive way of life, based on the above facts and factors, which spells out its strategy for survival and progress and lays down its ideals, aspirations and objectives. The moment any one of these factors is ignored, national policy and planning tend to become blind-spotted and lop-sided, sometimes with

disastrous results. This is evident from Pakistan's past history, wherein either deliberate attempts were made to escape from the facts of its location, or its strategic position was over-emphasized or misread, or the reality of its geography was ignored. That is how we mismanaged our relations with Russia, for instance.

Determinate Location

That its geographical location determines a nation's distinct and total identity and destiny is proven by the differing realities and differentiating facts of the former two wings of Pakistan.

Balance of Power

In international relations, just as peaceful co-existence with neighbours is a practical guide and motto for survival, striking a healthy balance of power—with the help of regional, global and super powers—also becomes essential at times, to counterpoise an aggressive or expansionist state (e.g. India) and to ensure national sovereignty and solidarity.

Some Conventional Myths and Misnomers

Western geographers and geo-politicians have continued to indulge in some of their favourite myths and misnomers—not through ignorance but by intent, because it suited them best. No doubt, physical features and reliefs determine national and international boundaries and classifications, to a large extent. But sometimes ideology, history and geo-politics cut across them. The institutions of federation and confederation, pacts and treaties, blocs and alignments, all go to prove this point. An instance in hand is the old Pakistan with its two wings separated by about 1,500 miles of alien and hostile India. The RCD, Middle East and Muslim Bloc can be cited as other such examples.

Two of the myths and misnomers referred to above are :
(i) the placement of the present Pakistan entirely in South Asia

rather than South-West Asia, as well; and (ii) calling the Afro-Asian Ocean (for it really connects, belongs to and serves both these continents)—the Indian Ocean. In both cases the intention, especially after the creation of Bangladesh, is to proclaim and uphold the Indian hegemony in the region and to make Pakistan subservient to it. Further, not to allow Pakistan even an ideological 'escape route' via the Muslim brotherhood, by being considered in South-West Asia, because of its strategic location, geo-political leverage and ideological-cum-historical links with the Middle East. With Pakistan trail-blazing the Muslim bloc, the latter could well be a challenge to Indian nuclear expansionism. India, its friends and allies would hardly favour such a prospect.

But the fact remains, that the ties and urges of religion and ideology, history and culture, apart, even geographically, the present Pakistan has always been a unit distinct and independent from the rest of the so-called subcontinent. Despite the dividing mountains, it has been a part of South-West Asia, because of : (i) the uniting mountainous passes ; (ii) the common border-lands ; (iii) historical land routes ; and (iv) the straddling rivers and inviting seas, which lured many a raider, invader and conquerer to the plains of India.

At least from its own point of view, to safeguard its legitimate national interests and to keep its foreign policy options open, Pakistan would do well to rightly claim and insist on as belonging to South-West Asia as well, rather than South Asia, alone. Being staggered across South and South-West Asia, it forms a natural link, pass and land-route between the two. It thus, belongs to the two correlated worlds ; and is a valuable link in the chain of the Muslim brotherhood. This link cuts across the Indian dominance ; and lends much support to the small and medium non-nuclear South, South-West Asian, littoral, and South-East Asian States.

Pakistan's Strategic Position

There can really be no escape from reality. And Pakistan's geographic and strategic reality, as discussed above, partly, can be summarised below :

(i) That today's new Pakistan, as distinct from the old Pakistan upto the fall of Dacca in 1971, is more compact, viable and consolidated, consisting of just one contiguous unit and wing. It lies in South-West Asia rather than in South Asia or South-East Asia, exclusively, as was its position formerly. But its traditional links with those parts and the rest of Asia are as strong as ever.

(ii) Pakistan is located in a key strategic position, linking the Middle East with South Asia. It is surrounded by one Super Power, *i.e.*, Russia, two global, world or big powers—Russia and China, three nuclear powers—Russia, China and India, and two regional powers, *i.e.*, Iran and India.

It has to reckon with all of these. Also with a couple of hostile neighbours. Once bitten, twice shy. Already attacked by India several times, it has also been dismembered by the latter. The Indian arms race in the sub-continent coupled with India's military base, industry and potential, has always added to the regional tensions and aggravated Pakistan's phobia. Bharat's nuclear programme has upset the already precarious balance of power and peace in the region, dangerously. Only the super powers and China can restore it, perhaps with the help of Turkey, Iran, Japan and even Australia.

(iii) As is well known, this peculiar strategic position of Pakistan has both its advantages and disadvantages. Surrounded by super, big and regional powers, and nuclear-expansionist India, Pakistan is eternally vulnerable. Therefore, it must remain ever wary and watchful. 'Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.' As a resilient, peaceful and progressive nation, it is the hope of the small and medium, non-nuclear states of the region, which

form the majority, as distinct from the staggering Indian colossus. It can serve as an anchor-sheet and beacon of light on the warm waters and Afro-Asian Ocean. It is in the larger and lasting interest of the peace of this region and the powers concerned, to ensure the sovereign, integrity and security of Pakistan—as a **buffer zone of peace**. As a **Switzerland of the East**. Being an important link in the Muslim bloc—which is rich in natural resources and manpower, Pakistan can play an effective role in the dynamics of detente and peaceful co-existence. It is forward-looking, modern and responsive to the call of growth, progress and development. Given its rightful place in the eastern sun, Pakistan can well be a citadel of peace and prosperity for the Third World of Afro-Asia.

Pakistan's Physical Features and Relief

These are highlighted by : (i) long borders ; (ii) many and diverse neighbours ; (iii) absence of depth ; (iv) peculiar natural features like mountains and passes, rivers, transcontinental land routes and deserts ; and (v) strategic access to the seas, Warm Waters and the Afro-Asian Ocean. All these lend a particular stance and bias to the defence requirements and security problems of the country. They affect the quality and 'philosophy' of defence planning and strategy, training and methodology, development and budgeting. They determine the country's defence strength and potential, outlook and approach. In view of India's overpowering size and might, it would be natural for Pakistan to give top priority to defence ; and therein, to : (i) an effective and modern, missile deterrence system ; (ii) the air force ; (iii) its navy ; and (iv) intelligence, counter-intelligence, counter-subversion and counter-insurgency (or defensive psy-war). These become all the more essential because of the still unsettled issues (like Kashmir) that loom large between Pakistan and belligerent, nuclear India.

Generally speaking, Pakistan's peculiar relief and physical

features render it particularly vulnerable. It is, according to many, quite tempting and tenuous, yet tenacious. Its natural temptations and vulnerability have to be guarded against adventurist, aggression and divisive designs. As stated earlier, it is in the interest of the big and regional powers, themselves, to seek Pakistan's security—or they will be at each other's doors—and throats. The global powers can best maintain the balance of peace—and power in this area by not compromising the interests and independence of Pakistan.

Defence Policy

Pakistan's geo-political, strategic, economic and ideological compulsions also determine her defence policy and planning, in peace and war. Also, her long term defence objectives and requirements, in the light of her overall national ideology and way of life. Likewise, these compulsions affect the following most important aspects of a forward-looking defence policy and planning, among others :

- (i) Defence policy objectives.
- (ii) Defence industry, base and production, ensuring ultimate self-reliance.
- (iii) Defence Aid. As proved and necessitated by the lessons of the ten-year old American arms embargo, a viable and stable or dependable balance has to be struck between a wasteful frittering away of the supply channels by an over-diversification of sources, and excessive reliance on a single or limited source, where the pipeline can easily be throttled. Obsolescence—in equipment, training and thinking—has also to be guarded against.
- (iv) Defence strength, training, organisation, management and systems' analysis. A realistic ratio between quality and quantity, vis-a-vis the menaces around, and in the

light of our defence policy and objectives, has to be achieved and maintained, futuristically.

- (v) Pakistan's nuclear policy and programme. These have to be decisive and clear-cut.

Basic Principles

It can be stated with absolute certainty that :

- (i) Islam is the overall national ideology and freely elected way of life in Pakistan.
- (ii) Peace or peaceful coexistence is the hall-mark and corner-stone of Pakistan's defence policy as of its foreign policy.
- (iii) The least and minimum requirement in order to ensure the security, independence and stability of Pakistan is to have strong, well-trained, and dedicated armed forces and a modern and effective deterrence system.
- (iv) Pakistan's defence policy is thus defensive and not adventurist, expansionist or offensive.
- (v) The whole nation needs to be made more defence conscious, defence worthy and defence oriented, than it is. The people need to be associated in ensuring Pakistan's security through a people's army/militia, in addition to the regular armed forces.

The Afro-Asian Ocean

So far Pakistan has been rather shy of the sea. It has preferred to look back at the hills, passes and lands, in a continental outlook. The very existence of East Pakistan should have been enough justification for Pakistan to have striven to emerge as an effective sea power. But it chose to stay away from the sea shores and got lost in a shell, tortoise-like.

The fact remains that Pakistan is very much a South-West Asian—an Afro-Asian Ocean (or Indian Ocean) state. In other

words, a sea-faring nation. It has been one, historically and traditionally. Its defence and security requirements are incomplete without it being a medium or at least/even a small sea power. If it does not secure its naval interests and guard its southern shores, it at once becomes like a helpless land-locked state, with all the ills and disadvantages of such a state. Pakistan's very survival is linked with its maritime strength and potential, both (i) as an effective naval force, and (ii) as a commercial navy. The earlier this fact is accepted and appreciated, the better it would be for the integrity of the country. Our future maritime interests, planning and development will have to be programmed accordingly.

India realised the blessings of maritime strength and the importance of the Afro-Asian Ocean long ago. Right from K.M. Pannikar to Davindra Kaushik and others (in 1965 and even earlier), onwards, its policy makers and strategists were fully conscious of these vital facts, and planned accordingly. The following quotations not only highlight the importance of the sea and the Afro-Asian (Indian Ocean) as also of sea power, they reflect on the Indian grand designs and intentions, too. We need to note these and stall them in future.

"He who rules on the sea will shortly rule on the land also".¹ "What the Royal Indian Navy has achieved during this war (World War II) is indeed a glorious page in Indian history. It is noteworthy that in the naval action which led to the landing of troops in Iran, it was an Indian Officer from Calicut, that great centre of naval activity in the past, that boarded the Persian Admiral's sloop and shot him."²

"A naval power, however well organised from the point of view of warships and fighting personnel, cannot count for

1. *Khairuddin Barbarosa to Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent.*

2. *Admiral Pitzherbart.*

much on the sea unless it is supplemented by a great national mercantile marine.'.....

"What is the true function of naval power in regard to land defence, especially in relation to India? In the heyday of British supremacy of the sea, Admiral Mahan drew attention to the dominating role that sea power has played in shaping the course of world history Today the pendulum has swung in the opposite direction. Hilaire Belloc..., the land strategists (even Mackindar) have generally held this view.".....

"It is obvious that sea power can only conquer the sea and hold the sea; only the army can conquer or hold the land. But the advantages that a naval power has against countries whose main line of communications lie on the sea, are obvious. Even against a dominant land power, supremacy of the sea has undoubted advantages.".....

"So far as India is concerned, it should be remembered that the peninsular character of the country and the essential dependence of its trade on maritime traffic give the sea a preponderant influence on its destiny.....The economic life of India will be completely at the mercy of the power which controls the seas. Also, the security of India could be perpetually threatened."

"But can the Indian Ocean become once again a protected area? The doctrine of the "Indivisibility of the sea", which Admiral Mahan emphasised so greatly, may perhaps lead us to think that if any power established her unchallenged mastery in the southern and middle Pacific, her power is bound to be felt as much in the Indian Ocean as in other areas of the oceanic surface. But the indivisible sea is no longer indivisible. Air power has introduced a new factor in the control of seas".....

"With the islands of Bay of Bengal properly equipped and protected and with a navy strong enough in its home waters,

security can return to that part of the Indian Ocean which is of supreme importance to India.'.....

"It need hardly be said that such an oceanic policy for India is possible only in the closest collaboration and association with the states of the Indian Ocean area.....An independent India cannot by herself undertake so great a responsibility'

"The future of India will undoubtedly be decided on the sea. It is indissolubly connected with developments in the Indian Ocean.'.....

"Our vision has been obscured by an UN-Indian wave of pacifism. **Ahimsa** is no doubt a great religious creed, but that is a creed which India rejected when she refused to follow Guatma Buddha. The Hindu theory at all times, especially in the periods of India's historic greatness, was one of active assertion of right, if necessary **through the force of arms**..... Once we are free from the effects of this idea, and are thus enabled to look at facts in the face, it will be clear that Indian freedom can be upheld only by firmly deciding to shoulder our share at all costs in the **active defence** of the areas necessary for our security. To the Indian Ocean we shall then have to turn as our ancestors did, who **conquered** Scotora long before the Christian Era and established an **Empire** in the **Pacific** which lasted for 1,500 years.'.....

"The waters of the world form one vast expanse. While land may be enveloped by the sea.....and the continents are as enveloped—the Oceans are divided only by artificial boundaries.....The oneness of the sea is an obvious geographical fact, though.....scientific inventions have made it possible to bring large areas of oceanic surface under the control of land powers and thus to convert them into **closed seas**. From this point of view, the geographical structure of the Indian Ocean

is particularly important.....It is the geographical position of India that changes the character of the Indian Ocean '.....

"Ceylon is attached geographically to India.....The main islands in the Ocean are Ceylon, which is so close to India as to lose its insular character.'.....

"The Indian Ocean was undoubtedly the first centre of Oceanic activity.....The numerous ports of India from Broach to Quilon became great markets of trade.....The main races that used the sea at the time were undoubtedly the Hindus, the Asiatic Greeks and the inhabitants of the Arabian coast line.'¹

The Indian Grand Designs

I have intentionally quoted at length, above, one of India's epoch-making and pace-setting strategists, just to pinpoint the Indian thinking. (The underlining, though mine, spells out the salients). There is some obvious self-contradiction, also, e.g. at one place Pannikar rejects Admiral Mahan's theory of the 'indivisibility of the sea,' by asserting: 'but the indivisible sea is no longer indivisible'. Later when it suits him, he takes an Indian somersault and states: 'The waters of the world form one vast expanse.....the oneness of the sea is an obvious geographical fact.' Certain conclusions are obvious, e. g.

(i) **An Indian Lake** The Afro-Asian Ocean was once known as a British lake. By trying to argue that the 'indivisible sea is no longer indivisible' and that 'the Indian Ocean can once again become a protected area', an attempt is being made to convert it into a close-circuited 'Indian Lake' or a 'closed sea.' This is fully borne out by the latest Indian 'hands off' and monopolistic-hegemonic thinking, statements and policy on the said ocean.

(ii) **Indian Supremacy** The intention is not just to secure the 'economic life of India' but to ensure the Indian supremacy

1. K.M. Pannikar : *India And the Indian Ocean*. Mysore Publishing House, Mysore, India, 1962.

over the seas and ocean. For : 'he who rules on the sea will shortly rule on the land, also'. And : 'To the Indian Ocean we shall then have to turn as our ancestors did, who **conquered**.'.....

(iii) **Colonial ; Conquestorial** The objective is not just peaceful, either. It is definitely conquestorial and colonial. Visions of the past Hindu rule and empire are invoked. Gandhian pacifism and 'Ahimsa' is being repudiated as 'un-Indian's Buddhism.' 'Active assertion and **force of arms at all costs**', are being urged.

(iv) **Open Options** India is keeping its options wide open. It would like to remain free to pick and choose 'the areas necessary' for its 'security'. Ceylon, for instance, is being considered as 'attached geographically to India'. It is 'so close to India as to lose its insular character.' This is demoniacally acquisitive thinking.

(v) **Bay of Bengal** Pannikar, among other Indian thinkers, had his eye on the Bay of Bengal. In fact, India has had it since long. No wonder then, that India is, today, pressurising weak and defenceless Bangla Desh into accepting dictated terms on its reportedly oil rich region, its boundaries between the two countries, the Farakha Barrage and other issues.

(vi) **Russian Help** Pannikar intended to secure the ocean for India with the help of the British. The littoral states have been rather recalcitrant—in fact, fearfully defensive. The British left the Oceanic wiles to the Americans, rather in a hurry. So, the Indians have sought the Russian help, in this matter, too. But for how long?

(vii) **Indian Arms Race** The situation was first worsened by the Indian arms race and military might, in the sub-continent.

(viii) **Indian Nuclear Teeth** Indian's nuclear teeth have complicated it further and upset the balance of power and peace in South Asia, precariously.

A Major, Vital Compulsion

Thus, the Afro-Asian Ocean, alone, is a tremendous geo-political and strategic compulsion of Pakistan. In fact, of the entire region. The said regional balance of power can be restored only: (i) with the help of super and world powers like Russia, America and China; and regional powers like Iran and Japan, (even Australia); (ii) by the determined and joint effort of the littoral states, which will need to have a joint approach to and strategy on the issue; (iii) with the aid of a new and an effective regional alliance; and (iv) by Pakistan emerging as a small but viable maritime force/power.

The above point of view is reflected in some of the recent writings on the subject, both in the East and West.

Pakistan And The American Arms

I will quote just one source :

"It would be totally illogical for the U.S. to continue depriving Pakistan of its sophisticated armaments in these conditions, while India continues to get as much as it likes—as well as massive credits—from the Soviet Union'.....

"Pakistan has always resisted the idea of the Asian Security Pact proposed by the Soviet Union... The Pakistanis have been looking with increasing distaste at the growing Soviet naval penetration in the Indian Ocean area, and it has shown itself to be ready to assist China or the United States, or indeed Iran, in helping to limit this penetration.'.....

'For the global policies of the U.S., Pakistan's loyalty over the years has been an important positive influence.'.....

'In spite of recent efforts at rapprochement between India and Pakistan, the Pakistanis still feel themselves threatened in their integrity by India....And in terms of armaments it is quite certain that the matter would not have come to a head so quickly, **without the Indian atomic bomb explosion last year.** This both incensed and frightened the Pakistanis.'

'The secession of East Pakistan and India's part in the creation of Bangladesh have entered into the political psyche of Pakistan.'

"There is no doubt that Indian intrigue is widely held to be responsible for much of the violence which seems endemic in Pakistan's political life, and particularly for the secessionist movements in Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province. Afghanistan and India are felt to be ready to act in concert on any given issue.'.....

"Now that Pakistan has lost its eastern province, it presents no military danger to India whatever....India's indignation about the U.S. decision to provide Pakistan with arms is very largely Soviet-conceived....Nor can Soviet protests be taken very seriously.... Sometimes during the last years there have appeared the beginnings of rifts between the Soviet Union and India, and always they have disappeared in the wake of some new arms shipment. India has never been prepared to commit itself in the matter of the Asian Collective Security Pact....But it has often been felt that the day was not far off...There may well come a day when the Indians will be glad that they are ...in theory .free to get their arms from a source other than the Soviet one. There is, indeed, no doubt that many thinking Indians are in this position now."¹

1. Ian Tickle : *American Arms and Pakistan*. (Swiss Press Review and News Report, Berne, 17th March, 1975).

The above may not be the entire truth or the complete Pakistani point of view and sentiment. But it does not only reflect an outside view but also many of Pakistan's fears and feelings. And they are, perhaps, neither fully misfounded nor misconceived.

Pakistan As a Naval Power

There is no doubt that Pakistan has been rather negligent in the past, of its maritime interests. Had this not been the case, East Pakistan would have been better defended against external aggression under an Eastern Command; and more developed as a 'maritime Pak. nation'. For too long did we rely on an anachronistic and inherited status quo vis-a-vis our defence policy and requirements, and strategic thinking. The colonial continental concepts of land strategists were taken for granted and accepted as permanent and unalterable. During the British days, the army was regarded more as Indian whereas the Indian maritime interests and role were assigned to the Royal British Navy rather than the (British) Indian Navy. The nation's (Pakistan's) maritime interests were sometimes considered synonymous with a 'paper boat' navy of 'liveried sailors'. Our naval strength was planned in proportion to just the couple of ports and harbours inherited at partition-time in the two wings, without realising that their number and facilities could be increased. Little was done to encourage : (i) the development of a chain of ports along our natural coastlines ; (ii) the emergence of a 'commercial navy' ; (iii) the evolution of a ship-building industry; (iv) the exploitation of the sea as a source of food, e.g., through fisheries; and above all, (v) the building up of the navy as an effective deterrence force and system.

Military Power And Coups

Traditionally, the world over, the navy is generally considered to be the senior most armed force. In Pakistan, this was seldom the case, except, perhaps, on ceremonial occasions. Historically—even traditionally, it is generally the land forces which usurp political power, when the occasion arises. The fliers are in the air, the sailors at sea, and both are too small in strength and numbers, away from the seat of political authority and differently oriented/motivated, to be in a position to wrest power. The military, on the other hand, is more stable, strong, strategically located and politically 'contaminated', and thus better 'equipped' to do so, (independently or in collusion with others—politicians, bureaucrats or other armed forces). Pakistan has always regarded itself as a 'land power'. Had the development of the three armed forces of Pakistan been less lop-sided, the chances of military coups, take-overs and dictatorships would have been reduced. But as it was, the army had a head start, being larger and stronger than the other regular forces. What with local martial laws to control local insurgency and sectarian riots and in aid of civil authority, etc., it was in constant touch with political power. The generals were planning in the wings to take over politics one day. When the chance came, they did. Naturally the army remained their favourite protector and protege both.

Land Power And Oceanic Compulsions

Pakistan may have been a limited and small 'land power' till 1971. But with its reduced size and strength, it is no longer one. Geo-politically and strategically, alone, Pakistan cannot afford to labour under this misconception any longer. For one reason, it has no depth to rely entirely or even largely on the army. The navy and the air force must be given their due. The only outlet for Pakistan is the sea. Otherwise it becomes

a landlocked—and trapped—state like Afghanistan. It is too well surrounded by big and powerful neighbours, to rely on just one arm of the forces.

Therefore Pakistan will have to accept its oceanic compulsions and try to emerge as a viable—small and effective naval power—by developing an impregnable maritime deterrence system which is well-coordinated with its army and air force.

Geo-Strategic Compulsions

So far we have been discussing mainly the geo-strategic compulsions of Pakistan. These are, no doubt, intimately related with its political compulsions. In fact, they interact and affect each other mutually. The term political compulsions is being used in the widest sense, to include ideological, cultural, religious, social, economic and international compulsions. No doubt, some geographic compulsions like the location, size, soil, climate, natural resources, population, etc., of a country greatly shape its economy. But it is best to deal with the economic compulsions separately.

The main lesson and conclusion that can be drawn from the foregoing discussion of the geo-strategic compulsions of Pakistan is—that there is just no escape from reality—and in this case, the geographic and locational reality of Pakistan. This reality clearly declares Pakistan to be (i) a small/medium, linear and without depth, strategic Asian State, (ii) in South-West Asia ; (iii) on the Afro-Asian Ocean ; and (iv) surrounded by mighty neighbours—super and world powers, regional and local powers ; military and nuclear powers. This reality also dictates an ideological and policy orientation towards these powers and towards detente, peace and a viable regional balance of power ; self-reliance, strength and self-sufficiency, as far as possible. Only then would its national identity and independence be secured.

Ideological/Political Compulsions

As stated earlier, these cover all the socio-economic compulsions, including international relations and foreign policy. This is more so in an ideological state like Pakistan. In fact, ideology in such cases is the main source, strength and inspiration. For the national ideology dictates a holistic approach and a total concept of national life, policy, planning and strategy. The ideology determines the nation's : (i) foreign policy and international relations ; (ii) the nature of its national policy—its political philosophy, institutions and traditions ; (iii) its economic policy, planning and development ; and (iv) the shape and future of its society.

Pakistan's ideology—in one word—is Islam, which means that Islamic political, economic and social institutions need to be evolved, in order to usher in a just Islamic society. In various fields of national life, the Islamic guidelines and principles can be summed up as follows :

Foreign Policy

If the motive force is Islam—and we are committed to that—then our foreign policy will be based on :

- (i) Global peace.
- (ii) Universal brotherhood.
- (iii) Good-neighbourliness.
- (iv) Effective self-defence.
- (v) Enlightened (self-and national-) interest.

All theories and programmes of international relations now in vogue can be traced back to the above broad, human values. These include the laws of the seas and lands, detente, peaceful co-existence, peace zones, NPT, SALT and deterrence or defence umbrellas and treaties or alliances.

Defence Policy

In view of the foregoing, it is natural for Pakistan to mould an independent and bilateral foreign policy in the light of its defence requirements and geo-strategic compulsions. Defence aid and pacts which safeguard national interests, may be, thus, necessary.

Political and Economic Life

The nature of national politics and economic life will be influenced by the fundamental principles listed below :

(i) Islam preaches moderation in all matters and prescribes the rule of the golden mean and the middle path, for the achievement of the just society of its type.

(ii) In economics, 'Iqtisadiat' or moderation is interpreted by some (e.g. Dr. Javid Iqbal) to mean a 'mixed economy'. Others regard it as Islamic Socialism.

(iii) Politically, it means 'Islamic Democracy'—which is : (a) rule by the best in the nation and not just the ruling party, i.e., by an Islamic Nationalist Government (or a sound and stable National Coalition) ; (b) rule by conciliation, consent, consensus and cooperation rather than cut-throat competition ; and (c) the rule of quality rather than quantity. Islamic Democracy is qualitative, unlike western democracy, which is quantitative and numerical.

(iv) Islam believes in Islamic Socialism, Islamic Secularism, Islamic Democracy and the Islamic Welfare State. These uphold all the fundamental human rights ; and strike a healthy balance between Economic Democracy and Political Democracy—granting both in just, fair and equitable moderation. Human life and individual liberty are sacrosanct.

(v) The supreme loyalty is to God. The state, nation and everything therein belong to Him and are meant to fulfil His will. A citizen owes his loyalty to the nation rather than an individual

or party, in the service of Allah. The petty, the personal, the parochial and the purely partisan are shunned in Islam. Moral values and human principles are prescribed in the service of the nation, humanity and God, above all. The nation is always to be above the self.

(vi) The population, (population planning, distribution and migration) and demographic facts and factors will also be affected by (a) the principle of moderation ; and (b) the tenet of just, fair and equitable distribution and sharing.

Religious, Historical and Socio-Cultural Compulsions

These, too, emanate from and are linked with Pakistan's geo-ideological compulsions. The said compulsions are :

(i) Because of its many historical provinces, languages and cultures, we must learn to accept with grace and candour, the fact that Pakistan is a pluralistic society. Legitimate regional rights must then be conceded and granted. These are political, economic, social and cultural.

(ii) Pakistan is an Islamic society, above all. This is the over-riding and supreme unifying factor—cutting across all the various divisive or naturally distinguishing factors. This is the choice and verdict of the masses and people of Pakistan as well as of the majority of its pressure groups and power elites. The predominant religious factor reinforces the essential unity of Pakistan—its geo-historical, economic, cultural, ethnic, racial and linguistic unity and interdependence. No doubt, the people of Pakistan are a complex and ancient mixture of varied racial strains, *e.g.*, Aryans, Greeks, Mongols, Afghans, Turks, Persians, Arabs and native Indians. But it is impossible to mark their separate entities along any definite course on Pakistan's map. The extent of mobility for human, defence, political, economic and climatic reasons, among the people of Pakistan, is surprising.

In talking of Pakistan's culture—or the cultures of its various provinces—we tend to forget that Pakistani culture is Islamic,

above all. We get misled by form and appearances ; neglecting the spirit and essence of our culture, its content, source, inspiration, motivation and philosophy. Realistically speaking, the Pakistani culture is (primarily) : (i) Islamic, (ii) folk ; and (iii) spiritual or sufistic and religious.

In brief, the best way to overcome linguistic 'barriers' is to regard them as bridges and culverts. And to evolve a broad-based, futuristic language policy which regards all regional or provincial languages as Pakistan's national languages and encourages their popular learning and general acceptance. Likewise stunts and bogies like 'Pukhtoonistan' and the nationalities issue can be liquidated by : (i) generously and realistically conceding legitimate local and provincial demands and rights, under the blessings of an Islamic Welfare State ensuring Islamic Socialism and Islamic Democracy ; and (ii) giving Islam a chance to emerge and function as a force of national integration. History has destined it to play such a role. Islam was the single main and major cause for the creation of Pakistan. And only an enlightened and progressive Islamic Ideology can save, sustain and secure it. Islam not just as a religion of individuals and communities—of the Pakistani society—but Islam as Pakistan's national ideology and way of life.

Conclusions

The geo-strategic, ideological and political compulsions of Pakistan are many, varied, complex and forceful. But they are clear-cut. So are the enemy designs. Realism demands that Pakistan's compulsions be accepted whole-heartedly—to determine its strategy for survival. This will help to shed the romantic lure of the exotic, the alien and distant. And to encourage self-reliance and austerity which may be the key notes of our future national policy. Pakistan is an indivisible unit and an undeniable unity. Just as Pakistan was created by the indomitable and invincible will of its people, its inherent and essential, independent unity can also be sustained by this will. Ethnographic,

linguistic, demographic and cultural maps, charts and datae, apart from geo-political and historical facts, prove and establish this unity. But as Toynbee has warned time and again, geographically its unity is vulnerable from outside. This is the reality and this, the challenge confronting us. It is for the planners and people of Pakistan to be ever wary and vigilant, as exemplars and men of action, in order to secure national independence and integrity, strength and solidarity.

CHAPTER—7

The Socio-Cultural And Psychological Constraints

Introduction

Like its geo-political and strategic compulsions, Pakistan's ideological, socio-cultural and psychological compulsions, too, declare, confirm and require it to be a unit and a unity. A strong and progressive nation rather than a motley handful or conglomeration of diffuse nationalities pulling in different directions.

The essence of national unity lies in the inspirational adhesiveness and ideological direction given by the socio-cultural and psychological aspects of a superior ideology, reinforced by the pressure of common history, suffering, sacrifice and experience. The economic and political factors in the past and present, added to the shared aspirations and a common sense of destiny, reassert the magnetism of the afore-mentioned compulsions. Thus does the divisive parochialism of contending nationalities get absorbed in the compulsive and over-powering superior ideology and mother culture of the parent nation.

The Socio-Cultural and Psychological Aspects of Pakistan's Security

(i) The Demand For Pakistan

Iqbal's Allahabad Declaration : (29th Dec., 1940).

"I would like to see the Punjab, North West Frontier Province,

Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India. '

(ii) The Quaid's Verdict

In his Presidential Address to the Twenty-Seventh Session of the All-India Muslim League held at Lahore from 22nd to 24th March, 1940, the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah had, (on 22nd March, 1940), once and for all declared the *raison d'être* of Pakistan to be :

"The Musalmans are not a minority. The Musalmans are a nation by any definition...We find that even according to the British map of India, we occupy large parts of this country where the Musalmans are in the majority—such as Bengal, Punjab, NWFP, Sind and Baluchistan. The question of Hindu-Muhammandan unity...I am inclined to think that it is neither possible nor practical...What is then the remedy? I do honestly and sincerely believe in the necessity or desirability of Hindu-Muslim unity...But what about the injunctions of the Quran and Hadis ?....These fundamental and deep-rooted differences, spiritual, economic, cultural, social and political, have been euphemised as mere 'superstitions'. But surely, it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the sub-continent of India, as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society, vis-à-vis that of Hinduism, to characterise them as mere 'superstitions'. Notwithstanding a thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary Statutes. What the unitary Government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realised by the imposition of a central federal government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command a willing and

loyal obedience throughout the sub-continent from various nationalities, except by means of armed force behind them'.....

Two Nations

"The problem in India is not of an inter-communal but manifestly of an international character, and it must be treated as such. The only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands, by dividing India into 'autonomous national states'. There is no reason why these States should be antagonistic to each other...It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of **Islam and Hinduism**. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, **different and distinct social orders**. It is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits, and is the cause of most of our troubles, and will lead India to destruction, if we fail to revise our nations in time.'

"**The Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literatures.** They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together, and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on **conflicting** ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that **Hindus and Musalmans** derive their inspirations from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different and they have different episodes.'.....

A Major Nation

"**Musalman are not a minority...Musalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their State. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop the fullest**

our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people....We cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objectives by threats or intimidation. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal that we have set in front of us'.....

The Intelligentsia

"The intelligentsia in all countries in the world have been the pioneers of any movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you got this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coat and willing to sacrifice all that you can, and work selflessly, earnestly and sincerely for your people, you will never realise your aim....I think that the masses are wide awake. They only want your guidance and lead. Come forward as servants of Islam, organise the people economically, socially, educationally and politically, and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by everybody."

Genesis of Pakistan

"We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and tradition, aptitude and ambitions, in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law, we are a Nation".¹

1. *The Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as cited in: "Presidential Government in Pakistan" by Prof. Mr. Rafi Anwar. Pub. by: The Caravon Books Hause, Lahore, 1967.*

The Two-Nation Theory

The above quotations from the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah constitute the quintessence of the Two-Nation Theory. The sum and substance of this theory is that :

- (i) The then so-called British Indian subcontinent was never a country ; it was a collection of princely states, lands and countries ; and of distinct religions, nations and nationalities. That is why the use of the term 'sub-continent'. There may have been strong central governments once in centuries, e.g. of Ashoka, the Mughals and the British. But the strength generally came from the spear, sword or barrel of the gun. There never was any religious oneness or national uniformity.
- (ii) The Hindus and Muslims of the 'sub-continent' were its two major and divergent, even antagonistic, religions, nations and cultures, with their own distinct histories, ways of life, outlooks, mores, modes, values, codes and philosophies. They could never live in peace for long as a single country. Their salvation lay in their peaceful co-existence as two sovereign nations, independent states and neighbouring and neighbourly countries.

The Two-Nation Theory has been attributed at different times to different people, especially, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, Allama Iqbal (who was very close to the Quaid and influenced his views), and the Quaid-e-Azam himself. The second, by general consensus, is said to have coined the expression "Pakistan", (the pure land or the land of the pure : 'pak' pure 'istain' land) i.e. "Pa" for the Punjab, "Ki" for Kashmir, "S" for Sind and "Tan" signifying Baluchistan and the Frontier or NWFP. In 1915,

1. *"Foundttons of Pakistan", Vol. II, 1906-1947. Edited by : Syed Sharif-ud-Din Pirzada. Pub : National Publishing House Ltd., Karachi, 1970.*

Chaudhry Rahmat Ali declared, "North of India is Muslim and we will keep it Muslim. Not only that, we will make it a Muslim State". In 1933, he elaborated his scheme for an independent homeland for the Muslims, in his leaflet, "Now or Never", and gave it the name of Pakistan, the "Land of the Pure", for a Muslim is expected to be pure and exemplary in faith and deed.

The fact of the matter is that the Two-Nation Theory is not documented or expressed in a single statement by any one individual. It is a reflection and repository of :

(i) The development of the Muslim renaissance, political consciousness and thought in the sub-continent over the decades.

(ii) And the history of our Freedom Movement.

As such, it evolved, shaped and reflected, over the years, our struggle for survival and independence. All our stalwart freedom fighters and political leaders contributed to it, in proportion to their role in the Muslim emancipation in India.

The Pakistan Resolution

Of course, its most outspoken and articulate votary was the Quaid-e-Azam himself. And it was best expressed in his Presidential Address to the 27th Session of the All-India Muslim League, on 22nd March, 1940. The Address was cited at the beginning of this paper. It initiated the famous and historic Lahore Session of the Muslim League (-22nd to 24th March, 1940), in which the political demand for the separate and sovereign Muslim State (of Pakistan) was made openly, manifestly and concretely for the first time, in the "Lahore Resolution", as the Quaid-e-Azam called it in the beginning. The Hindu press, in its vitriolic and unceasing attack, was the first to term it sarcastically as the "Pakistan Resolution". The Hindus were mindful of history and had remembered Chaudhary Rahmat Ali's sentiments well. Therefore, the expression received popular accep-

tance. The two terms, Lahore Resolution and Pakistan Resolution, then began to be used interchangeably.

The Two-Nation Theory and Pakistan

Facts are pre-existent realities, waiting for discovery and recognition. Theories express and support facts. They do not create them. Pakistan—or the Muslims of the sub-continent—were a nation—a fact—long before Pakistan was created. In fact, ever since the Muslims first set foot on this soil centuries ago, with the coming of Muhammad Bin Qasim and the Arabs to Sindh. Thus, the Two-Nation Theory did not create Pakistan, it only articulated the fact of it and the political demand for it. Therefore, it is not a mere theory—it is much more—a great reality and an undeniable fact.

Further, wide-awake individuals give currency to theories, thought processes, streams of consciousness and currents of movements, in recognition of unassailable facts. And in support of them. This is true of the Two-Nation Theory, also.

National Self-Determination

Finally, the Two-Nation Theory was a concrete epitome of the fundamental human right of national self-determination in the sub-continental context. This right is recognized by all civilised nations of the world, today, and protected by the U.N. Charter. The Indian Muslim expressed this right in the Two-Nation Theory, struggled for it in the Freedom Movement and exercised it in the attainment of Pakistan.

“It must be realised that India was never a country or a nation. India’s problem is international in this sub-continent; and differences—cultural, social, political and economic—are so fundamental that they cannot be covered up, concealed or confused, but must be handled by all as realists. We do

not wish to see that the history of Palestine should be repeated." ¹

The Lahore Resolution and Pakistan (—23rd March 1940)

"Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslim unless it is designed on the following principle, viz. that the geographically contiguous units are demarcated, into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent states' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.'.....(—A.K. Fazl-ul-Haq).

'State' or 'States'

Much hue and cry was raised by the Hindus before, and even after, partition, about the terms : 'zones', 'independent states', 'geographically contiguous units', 'constituent units', 'autonomous and sovereign'. Did all these imply two or more Muslim states ? Were they to be knit together in a federation or confederation ? What was to be the relationship of the units within each of the two zones ? Here it may not be out of place to quote the Quaid's views on an Indian Hindu-Muslim confederation etc., and on federalism in Pakistan, thus :

Federation etc.

'Indo-Pak'.

"We are asked by some constitutional Pandits, "Why can there not be some sort of loose federation or confederation ?... But they forget the entire constitutional history of the various parts of the world. Federation however, described and in

1. *The Quaid's Presidential Address ; All India Muslim League 29th Session, Allahabad, April 3-6, 1942.*

whatever terms it is put, must ultimately deprive the federating units of authority in all vital matters...We are opposed to any scheme... federal or confederal; for it is bound to lead in the long run to the emasculation of the entire Muslim nation—socially, educationally, culturally, economically and politically—and to the establishment of Hindu majority raj in this sub-continent...There is no such thing as loose federation."...¹

In Pakistan

"The theory of Pakistan guarantees that federal units of the National Government would have all the autonomy that you will find in the constitutions of the United States of America, Canada and Australia. But certain powers will remain vested in the Central Government such as the monetary system, national defence and other federal responsibilities. Each federal state or province would have its own legislative, executive and judicial systems, each of the three branches of government being constitutionally separate."²

The hair-splitting, mischievous debate referred to earlier on 'state or states' etc. received a fresh lease of life and a fresh impetus after the creation of Bangla Desh. And just before it, during the agitational and secessionary days of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Six Points. It was argued that the Lahore Resolution had actually intended to sanction at least two independent Muslim states.

The Quaid Clarifies

The fact of the matter is that the Quaid-e-Azam himself had issued the necessary clarifications soon after the Lahore

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1. *The Quaid: Presidential Address, All India Muslim League, 30th Session, Delhi, April 24-26, 1943.*
 2. *The Quaid-e-Azam: Interview to A.P.P. Rep., 8th November, 1943.*

Resolution, in various statements and in his correspondence with Mr. Gandhi.¹ According to many sources, e.g. Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani and Syed Sharif-ud Din Pirzada, the Quaid-e-Azam had stated more than once that the word 'states' instead of 'state' was a 'misprint' and a 'typographical error'. And that, what really mattered was the intention and not the word. In fact, 'he directed that the records be rectified'.² The position was also clarified in the Annual Session of the Muslim League held in Madras in April, 1941 and above all, in the Muslim League Legislators' Convention in Delhi in April, 1946, which adopted a resolution to the effect :

"That the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West of India, namely, **Pakistan** zones where the Muslims are in a dominant majority, be constituted into a **sovereign independent state** and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of **Pakistan** without delay."

All the above should have made things crystal clear and set all disputations at rest. But since they were not genuine doubts, but motivated and inspired by the evil genius of disrupters, the mischief-mongers continued to fume and fuss over their self-created issue. For the Hindus, the Two Nation Theory was tantamount to a 'vivisection of Mother India'. They tauntingly, termed the Lahore Resolution as the 'Pakistan Resolution?' Nehru totally denied—or tried to—that there was a 'two-nation' problem. Gandhi insisted on Hindu-Muslim unity even after 1940. And India has always attempted to falsify the theory. But to no avail.

Bangla Desh and the Two-Nation Theory

Thus, when Bangla Desh was created, the Indians, some

1. *Gandhi-Jinnah Correspondence. September, 1944.*

2. *M.A.H. Ispahani, —"The Lahore Resolution and the Historic Lahore Session" by Syed Sharif-ud-Din Pirzada. Pub.: Pak Publications, Karachi, 1968, p.20.*

Bangla Deshis—and shockingly—even a few defeatist pseudo-intellectuals and liberals of Pakistan, began to harangue that the Two-Nation Theory had failed. That Bangla Desh had disproved it. The fact, however, is that the creation of Bangla Desh was a warning to us against gross misrule, subversion and national disintegration. Our Bengali brothers parted company with us not because they had ceased to be Muslims or had got converted to Hinduism. It was rather because we had ignored Islam in practice, after creating Pakistan in the name of and for it. We only paid lip-service to this great religion and complete code and way of life, in our slogans and pledges. Had we been true Muslims as a polity, we would have actually practised equality, brotherhood and fraternity in all walks of national life—social, political, economic and cultural etc. There would have been no exploitation, disparity, dictatorship and disunity. East Pakistan broke away from us not just because of the physical distance between the two wings, foreign conspiracy, enemy propaganda, insurrection and armed aggression. These were the final blows. But the seeds of disintegration were being sown gradually over the decades by our own misdeeds and follies. In short, by the absence of democracy in Pakistan, and by economic disparity, social neglect and political exploitation.

The Two-Nation Theory was never involved and never in question in the creation of Bangla Desh. It was all a matter of the integration and consolidation of a single nation, Pakistan. Had a part of Pakistan willingly merged itself with India, the theory could have been debated. As the facts stand today, even in India, the theory in the fundamental political sense of national self-determination is still at play. For India is a confusing complex not just of two major nations, Hindu and Muslim, but of many more, e.g. the Sikhs, the Kashmiris, the Punjabis, the Bengalis, the Madrasis, the Mizos etc. They are nations from every angle—especially religious, cultural, social, historical, economic and geo-political.



To sum up, the Two-Nation Theory, then and now, essentially points to the fact that the Hindus are Hindus and the Muslims are Muslims and the twain simply cannot meet. The so-called Indian secular attempt towards apparent national co-existence is, in reality, a strained, clever and continuous exercise in domination and assimilation. There is no equality, no recognition of distinct identities and separate entities and, therefore, no question of the peaceful co-existence of equals. The frequent communal riots in India and Indian expansionism prove that fact. One has only to read its 'liberals' like Ved Mehta, Dom and Frank Moraes—or K. L. Gauba's *'Passive Voices'*, to know the true meaning of Indian Secularism—through the tragic plight of the Indian Muslims. As for poor, betrayed, sinking Bangla Desh, if anything, it is an eye-opener and a lesson against secession. This is an age of global powers and regional powers ; of ideologies and their peaceful co-existence. Nation states are converting into ideological-nation-states. Petty or mini-states are only a myth. They have, for sheer survival, to look to protective alignment and thereby, get reduced to the status of clients which is another name for the imperial colonies and protectorates of yore. Gone for good are the days of warring princely states of the mediaeval days.

Ideological Subversion

The emergence of Bangla Desh marked the end of one phase of the ideological subversion of Pakistan—so far as its eastern wing was concerned, and the beginning of the second phase—launched this time in the western wing or now, the only bit of Pakistan that is left. The 'liberal defeatism'—and doubts and misgivings—generated by a section of the Karachi press, especially in the English language, with its disputations on the Two-Nation Theory, was somewhat echoed in Lahore, also. That is how its two great intellectual centres served Pakistan in its darkest hours ! Thank God the infection did not spread to the northern up-country beyond the Ravi. In fact, it was positively checkmated, countered and defeated in other parts

of the country I will not say that the motives within the country were subversive. But the results might have been so, if not halted in time. Muslims, and especially Pakistanis, are inclined to be rather extremistic in almost everything, including peace and war, friendship and animosity ; fads and fashions, be they sartorial, literary or intellectual. We are not always discriminatory and discreet ; but rush to swallow juicy baits, hook, line and sinker. We should not, however, forget that the loss of ideology is the loss of entity and identity ; direction and destiny ; being and belonging—and not just of a mere label.

It is common knowledge that nations resort to war only as a last means, when diplomacy fails to achieve their cherished goals. It is also well-known that wars and armed aggression are not the sole threats to a state's sovereignty and a country's independence. There are other more devious, covert and underground, ways and means, which are employed to subvert the socio-political fabric of a nation. These include peace-time ideological confusion and subversion, nihilistic or negative propaganda and defeatist psy-war, carried out with the aid of the mass media of communication, diplomatic channels, economic and political pressures and defence and strategic tactics, over the years. The intention is to squeeze, confuse, disorganise, disrupt and disintegrate a nation. To strike at the roots of national unity, oneness and cohesion.

Defeatism

Much worse than a defeat is the defeatism that follows it. Wars damage a nation economically and militarily. Defeatism cripples it spiritually and ideologically ; psychologically and intellectually. It begins to lose faith in itself and question its own validity and *raison d'être*, justification for existence and being, potential, prospects and future. The national foundations and fabric are clawed at, dug up and torn apart. The first causes, basic principles and fundamental causative and creative factors are viewed at sceptically. Settled questions are reagitated.

Ideological foundations and pillars are jettisoned. The distinction between peaceful co-existence and capitulation begins to be eroded. Detente is one thing, defeatism another. Class hatred is spread in the name of progressive revolution. Old values are gnawed at without a provision of suitable substitutes. The result is : a tragic widening of the generation and credibility gaps --in a nation of cynics and sceptics, **disbelievers and rejectors.**

Democratic Foundations

Nations are ensured stability and success through the dynamics of :

- (i) A foundational, pervasive and lasting ideology ;
- (ii) tried and tested principles, values and traditions ; and
- (iii) democratically evolving institutions and 'arms' of the law all guaranteed and protected by an enlightened and progressive leadership in all walks of national life, which provides for future and successive leadership, as well.

Defeatism nibbles at all these, in a steady sweep. In the name of well-intentioned but mismanaged reforms, all these are taken a crack at.

Parochialism

All the above are among the possible and many faces and manifestations, channels and sub-ways of ideological subversion. But worse of all is the heightened trend towards parochialism as opposed to nationalism. The petty, personal, provincial, party and political rather than the purely national outlook is fostered. All this may be coupled with civil strife, acts of sabotage and insurrection, to harass and dismay the general population, especially in towns and cities, congested areas and sensitive spots, where rumours and panic are more contagious and effective.

The net result is likely to be a paralysing loss of **faith** in one's life-giving ideology and confidence in oneself, one's potential, viability and future.

Socio-Cultural and Psychological Repurcussions on Security

An ideologically confused, socio-culturally subverted, psychologically misled, and politico-economically disintegrating nation is a weak, insecure and tottering nation. National defence and security are impossible without national integration. Ideological subversion and defeatism can have damaging socio-cultural and psychological repurcussions on the security of a state.

Pakistan's Ideology

Pakistan is nothing if not an ideological state. The Two-Nation Theory was a statement of its ideology. Pakistan is a concrete manifestation of that ideology. But the practical implementation of its ideology was always a long way off. Pakistan's ideology is the Islamic Ideology or Islam itself. Islam is not die-hard orthodoxy or conventional Mullaism. It is not conservatism fossilised. Indeed, Islam is modern and progressive. It is peaceful, reformatory and evolutionary. Here is what a well-known Pakistani intellectual and journalist has to say on the role of Pakistan's Islamic Ideology in national integration. Mr. Safdar Mir ¹ needs no introduction.

An Intellectual, Progressive Approach

"Creativity, which is the supreme value in a Muslim because it is the supreme attribute of his Maker, is the basis of life and of integration, individual or national. And all Pakistanis wherever they are submitting to the will of the creative principle of the universe, i.e. if they are taking part in the creative process which is their portion in a finite existence, are engaged in the work of national integration".

1. (- 'Zeno' of "The Pakistan Times").

"The movement for Pakistan's national integration is not a mechanical thing. It is the product of the will of our people. It is an expression of their urge to be a community'.

"But Islam is not just another religion but a particular religion—the latest in the scheme of things, and the last. And its tenets are not capable of being interpreted in any other way than in the way of a revolution in thought and action, as Iqbal so clearly reconstructed them for us. And it is as a simple religion comprehensible for a simple straightforward people. It needs no clergy, no organised church, no intermediaries between the finite man and infinite.'

"The Kalima imposes—through its belief by man—complete and unequivocal equality between human beings. The implications of the second part, Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah, are contained already in the first part. It is "shirk" to equate any body among you, even the highest, with God'.

"This egalitarian principle is elaborated in the form in which prayer is enjoined. Prayer is not each man's personal relationship with God, but the relationship of members of the community to each other and to God. "Iyyaka Na' budo Weiyyaka Nastayeen". It is not "I worship Thee" but "we worship Thee". "Thee alone we worship and Thee alone we ask for help. Show us the straight path. The path of those whom thou hast favoured. Not the path of those who earn Thine anger nor of those who go astray'.

"It is thus, through the very words of the Kalima and the prayer that Islam has meant for its people an **egalitarian collective life**. This has been throughout history the motivating indeational force in the Muslim communities and in its own way it has been the motivating force behind the coming into existence of Pakistan and its integration. In the midst of all the trials and tribulations, the guide of the Muslim people—the people who submit to the creative will of God—has been the word of

God which enjoins on them an identification with that will through striving—"Jihad". And that is how we have earned the epithet of fanatics. We are not content with a lip service to the idea of equality but must impose it among ourselves. And we go through life and through death for its imposition. "Jihad" and the idea of striving in the name of God is the test of the faith which we pronounce through the 'Kalima' and the prayer,.....

"The basis of integration and unity is there among our people. And what is among our people is reflected in what the artists and writers create and what the intellectuals talk about. This integrative level has been formulated in all the creative activity of our people—that which was traditional and that which is modern.'.....

"In our traditions and our history, we seek out those values which reflect our integration in time. The whole of the past of our people is full of such formulations. The literature and art of the Muslim communities from China to Spain is our heritage.'.....

"Another source of national integration in literature has been the creative activity of our people in Urdu during the period from 1857 to Iqbal.'.....

"Iqbal especially has to be kept in constant view, not only because he was the first man bold enough to call for a separate homeland of the Muslims in the sub-continent, but also because he is one of the most modern thinkers of Islam.'.....

"Much of the prejudice of the secularists and liberal youth against religion is based on their unfamiliarity with Iqbal's work, and the boldness of his interpretation of Islamic values.'.....

"Iqbal snatched the Quran from the monopolistic hands of the Mullah and the Pir, who were making a trade of the word of God, and gave it back to the Muslims.'.....

"There is another force in literature which appeared after Iqbal and which has initiated one of the most productive periods in modern Urdu literature. It has carried on the message of freedom which Iqbal was the first to pronounce. Like Iqbal, it is a movement which bases itself on a **dynamic view of history and of life**. As indicated in its name, **progressivism**, it is a movement which **looks towards the future**. In this, again, it is **following Iqbal** who wrote one of the first manifestos for emergent Asia in "Pas Cheh Baid Kard ai Aqwam-i-Sharq" and laid down the idea of a free, independent and self-reliant future for the nations of the East'.....

'But while looking towards the future, the progressive movement is altogether oblivious of the past. That is its weak point and that is its inherent danger'.

"The secularism and liberalism of the progressives which has taken on new form in recent years - some "absurdist" and another more rationalistic has, for its opposite, a tendency in intellectual circles which is based on another form of ignorance. This is a carry-over from Mullaism which Iqbal exposed and discarded at the beginning of the century. This is the tendency to see our history and our national ideals as a non-evolving static phenomenon'.....

"Such are the various integrative levels which prevail in our literature and life. It is not a problem of form but of meaning that is germane to our discussion of national integration. The unity and solidarity in a nation does not follow from a schema thought out by a group of specialists. There is no possibility of a five year plan for producing literature reflecting national integration. **The integrative levels exist in the community itself**. They evolve out of the soil of the people. **What is needed is opportunities for its efflorescence**. Art and literature cannot be made to order. They can be guided and helped to grow, not dictated and tailored to fit the body of the community. The simple reason being that they are not the sartorial appenda-

ges of a society, nor outward and extraneous decorations for the body-politic. They are the expressions of the soil of the people and can flower only in the soil of freedom".¹

The Islamic Ideology

The Islamic Ideology, when viewed at through the lives, views and mission of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Allama Iqbal and the Quaid-e-Azam, upholds Islamic Secularism, Islamic Democracy, Islamic Socialism, and the Islamic Welfare State. It needs to be understood and reinterpreted in this light and according to our present day problems and needs and future requirements. The Islamic view of life is a holistic and practical view. It looks at life broadly, wholly and squarely : not narrowly or split into secular and ecclesiastical compartments. Pakistan's ideology is against sectarianism, on the one hand, and religious exploitation, both by the religious and the politicians, on the other.

The Quaid's View on Pakistan's Ideology

Muslim Faith and Political Power

"We want men of faith and resolution who have courage and determination, and who would fight single-handed for their convictions, although at the moment the whole world may be against them. We must develop power and strength till the Musalmans are fully organised, and have acquired the power and strength which must come from the solidarity and unity of people. Politics means power and not relying only on cries of justice or fairplay or goodwill...I want the Musalmans to ponder over the situation and decide their own fate by having

1. —"The Intellectual Aspect of National Integration".
By : Safdar Mir.

—Source : "Points of View on National Integration".

—Pub : The Pakistan Council for National Integration, Rawalpindi, (1966).

one single, definite, uniform policy which should be loyally followed throughout”....¹

Democratic Opposition

“Mr. Jinnah said that he did not expect that Pakistan would have one party government and that he would oppose one party rule. ‘An opposition party or parties are good correctives for any party which is in power’, he said”.²

Islamic Ideals

“It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundations of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that ‘our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations’”.³

Islamic Democracy

“The Constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were, 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us **democracy**. It has taught equality of man, justice and fairplay to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious

1. *Presidential Address of the Quaid-e-Azam at the All India Muslim League 25th Session of Lucknow, October 15-18, 1937.*
2. *Report of the Quaid's Interview to the A.P.A. Representative, 8th Nov. 1945. Source : The Legacy of the Quaid-e-Azam by Dr. Javid Iqbal. Pub. : Ferozsons Ltd., Lahore, 1967.*
3. *The Quaid-e-Azam : Broadcast Talk to the People of Australia : 19th February, 1948.*

traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan".¹

Islamic Secularism

"The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (may peace be upon him). We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in rights, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake : Pakistan is *not* a theocracy or anything like it."²

The Nature of Ideologies

Ideologies are not made every day. Like one's philosophy and religion, they are a nation's freely chosen, all-embracing, abiding way of life. Switching ideologies in national crisis may be worse than swapping horses in mid stream. Ideologies are the repositories of a nation's conscience and code, mores and values, principles and precepts, objectives and ideals, historical experience and collective psyche, conscious and sub-conscious. Tinkering with them will only cause confusion and chaos. Nothing less. Let us not forget that in the face of our all-too-natural regional and cultural differences, our Islamic Ideology is the single most unifying factor and integrative spirit that we have. Both in war as a psy-war weapon and in peace, it has served us well in the past. In future, too, it can keep us together, if practised sincerely. It sustained Pakistan in its formative phase and teething troubles ; and through every crisis thereafter. But the days of slogan mongering are over for good. We have to implement and practise our faith. The time has come for that. No smoke screen or short-cut would do now.

1. *The Quaid-e-Azam : Speech at Sibi Durbar, 14th February 1948.*
2. *The Quaid-e-Azam : Recorded Broadcast to the People of the U.S.A., February, 1948.*

The Will of a Nation

A national ideology is also the repository of a nation's will to live and survive, grow, progress and prosper. A nation is not just a conglomeration of certain common factors and unifying principles—geo-political, historical, cultural, economic, socio-political, racial, ethnic, linguistic, emotional, psychological or religious. A state is not just all these plus geographical contiguity, political sovereignty and territorial independence. According to the consensus of well-known thinkers and political scientists like the Greektrio, J.S. Mill and Renan, the subjective, psychological or emotive element is the key and determinate factor in the making of national consciousness, the form of nationhood and the spirit of nationalism. It is also the predominant note in the psychology of integration. This subjective factor has been analysed into the following main constituents :

- (i) The feeling of belonging to each other as distinct from others.
- (ii) The will to continue to live together, freely and fraternally, for ever and ever, and through thick and thin.

The objective of ideological subversion is precisely to 'sabotage' this very feeling and will. The aim of national integration is to strengthen, sustain and preserve, promote and project this spirit of oneness.

The Mass Media and Ideological Subversion

The mass media of communication are a powerful weapon of psy-war, people's education and ideological motivation. Unfortunately, one sometimes gets the feeling that instead of countering the enemy designs and propaganda, they seem to fall into his cleverly set trap. For what fare are they occasionally inclined to serve the thirsty viewer and reader ? It can be summed up as follows, in the opinion of some observers :

- (i) Pseudo-progressive and naive revolutionary stuff suggestive of class hatred and strife rather than general goodwill, national cooperation and peaceful and reformatory evolution. Islam, on the other hand, is for a classless society of brotherhood and equality, peace and progress—of peaceful evolutionary reform and not class warfare or bloody revolution. Not hatred and blood-letting. When economic problems and political issues remain unsolved in an unchanging social set-up, while mob hysteria is fanned, social barriers are increased—not bridged. For revolutions are not wrought by verbiage and slogans but by well-planned and progressive action. A favourable socio-political climate is required, not a void, nor yet an anarchic situation.
- (ii) Ideological confusion by : (a) obliquely or inadvertently questioning Pakistan's basic ideology, and (b) dishing out half-baked substitutes.
- (iii) Cultural anarchy, by presenting a muddled-up plethora of east and west, ancient and modern, Indian and Pakistani, hippy and 'yogi' etc. etc.

Obviously, the only way out of this confusion becoming worse confounded is for the mass media to reverse their mentality and policy. The subversive should be exposed and rejected, the nationalistic and peacefully progressive, projected and built up. Cultural rediscovery and ideological rebirth should be fostered.

Educational Policy

The education policy of a country and the quality and content of its education, can, likewise, do a great deal to preserve and perpetuate its national culture, heritage and ideology and to promote national integration in the background of a cosmopolitan outlook. Regional language learning, cultural exchanges within the country, Islamic studies and history, religious teaching, Pakistan

Studies and sound general or liberal education, all would prove helpful. Of course, there's just no substitute for the twin educators and exemplars – the parents and teachers. I would call all regional languages Pakistani or national languages, like Urdu. Of course, there can be one mutually acceptable, common official language. All our languages and cultures together form the national culture and will shape Pakistan's future cultural heritage.

Social Taboos

In the estimation of a section of some critics, generally speaking, our (urban) society is an acquisitive, class-conscious, taboo-ridden, materialistic, petit bourgeois society of the nouveau riche ; of grabbers, opportunists and exploiters. A corrupt and greedy society in a flux. The middle classes, which form the educated core, are, perhaps, the most ritualistic, conventional, confused and hypocritical. Therefore, they are the most hard-hit, also, socially as well as economically. Our culture is in a state of chaotic transition, defying both definition and analysis and dodging reform. It is an acquisitive society because it is an insecure and unstable society. An insecure person can become miserly and even mean, suffering from the 'get rich quick' itch. It is also an unjust society because of its undemocratic history ; wherein extremes of poverty and squalour, on the one hand, and phony and superficial status symbols, on the other, vie with each other. (Thank God that the hard core of our rural population, which is, perhaps, 90% of the total population, is still basically sound because of its cultural and ideological heritage, despite some of its own anachronism and flaws).

All this adds to the ideological confusion. New remedies are sought, after sweeping the proper ideological ones under the rug. We hide and ignore our historical, cultural and ideological heritage ourselves and then lament its loss. The urgent need is for ideological rediscovery, renaissance, reinterpretation

and for moderation, and not for half-boiled, new-fangled notions or borrowed but unassimilated ideologies.

A just society is a free, equitable, fraternal and democratic society. The way out of this tangled social web and ideological jungle is to reinvoke Pakistan's basic ideology, which originally created the fervour and spirit of nationalism and which, in turn, achieved Pakistan. For that ideology promises and provides for the just society of our dreams, free from material want, care and exploitation ; wherein man's inhumanity to man is negated by the lasting brotherhood of mankind.

The Psychology of Integration

"Integration"—Its Implications

Many people are inclined to read too much into the expression 'national integration', or at least pick out those negative aspects of it which are neither intended nor implied. To the minds of some, integration suggests a degree of disintegration. Many even refer to the negro problem in the United States. But comparisons, as the saying goes, are odious. There is nothing common between the situation in the U.S.A. and the situation in Pakistan.

One of the ideas may be to counter fissiparous or disruptive tendencies within the country, which are very often the machinations of alien foes who are not yet reconciled to the creation of Pakistan. But more important is the positive programme to bring about greater harmony, unity and the sense of nationhood—through a thorough knowledge of the nation's past, present and future—its struggle for freedom, its historical, religious, ideological and cultural heritage ; its problems and plans for tomorrow, its aspirations, ideals and sense of destiny. Some critics are inclined to construe integration in too literal or physiological a sense, equating it with complete identification or regimentation. But that is jumping to conclusions without knowing the facts. Such a

definition is not logical ; and such an objective is neither necessary nor even possible. Earlier, it has been explained that the concept of unity does not extend to conformity and regimentation. Thus, it is unity without conformity or regimentation, which is, both the aim and the requirement, of the nation. It is unity within diversity ; and in building up national awareness and understanding, full opportunities should be provided for the preservation and growth of regional cultures, languages and ways of life.

In view of what has been stated above, "Why integration" ? would seem a naïve question. Peace and unity are the essential conditions of life, be it in an individual, a family or a nation. These are vital to preserve the very identity, sovereignty and existence of any people.

Integration : the Masses and the Classes

It is a fact that the masses had completely identified themselves with the Freedom Movement in the past and the nation, as it now exists. As such, integration is not so much an issue for them as for the intelligentsia, the educated, literary and intellectual classes which, with their own vested interests and their sharp critical faculties, have an eye for the natural differences existing in our society, and focus too much attention on them. However, complacency is out of the question, and the masses not only need to be kept constantly aware of the national heritage but also assured that the country is theirs and it is they who constitute the nation. All the mass media of communication should be employed to keep the people in touch with the national aspirations and ideals, and to sustain their pride and participation in the national programmes and endeavours.

As for the intellectuals, conscious efforts shall have to be made at the literary, cultural and intellectual levels, and programmes devised, in the wake of national integration. The

task cannot be left to chance alone, or the unconscious historical or evolutionary processes of integration. Art and literature, in this context, need to be more purposive ; and the educational policy, integration-oriented.

Factors Hindering and Promoting National Integration :

Differences of various kinds stand in the way to national integration. Broadly speaking, they could be classified under two headings : historical and national. Among the geo-historical factors are physical distance between areas ; and the fact that at the time of partition, some of the areas constituting Pakistan were more poor or underdeveloped than the others. These disparities were factors inherited as the evil legacies of the British rule. Natural differences are those of language, dress, diet, and other cultural peculiarities, typicalities or even idiosyncrasies. Efforts need to be made to :

- (a) understand these traits and differentiations :
- (b) and reduce, minimise, harmonise or bridge them.

Various ways and means, including economic, can be suggested for this purpose.

Fortunately, counter-balancing these factors which hinder national integration, are far stronger forces promoting national integration. These are, the nation's spiritual, historical, cultural, religious and ideological heritage, bonds and aspirations—its ideology, in brief—which keeps the people of Pakistan united and indivisible. These resources could be used to greater national advantage.

Integration—A Psychologist's View :

According to Dr. Mohammad Ajmal, till recently the Education Secretary, Government of Pakistan) in his paper on "National Integration—The Psychological Truth", "The movement of national integration is opposed to social distance between groups . . . in integration, the aim is the full-blooded development of all aspects of personality. Integration will thus

imply that all aspects of personality adjust themselves with each other, without losing their autonomy. It is a voluntary getting together in which perception and understanding play a vital role".¹

This reference to 'social distance' may be is akin to what we have earlier called the natural or inherent differences between individuals and groups and the consequent absence of understanding; which needs to be bridged by conscious effort. Again the 'full-blooded development of all aspects of personality' really means integration without conformity or regimentation. It is giving a chance to, and in fact encouraging, all the regional cultures, languages and ways of life to develop and flourish. The 'voluntary getting together in which perception and understanding play a vital role', harkens back to an old Pakistan objective: 'Unity through Knowledge'—and understanding; and to the Quaid-e-Azam's national motto: 'Unity, Faith and Discipline.'

All this is further elaborated by Dr. Ajmal when he says, "There are cultural differences. The point is to see the similarities and differences together; the point is that awareness is all. The point is that we must plunge into the venture of discovery and understand, without making any blueprints for changing other people. The moral is that it is understanding rooted in face to face contact, close and inter-personal relations, voluntary blending of individuals and socialisation of children which is likely to eliminate social distance. Social distance can be overcome only by personal dialogue with subcultures. Let the subcultures be. Surely we do not seek to abolish diversity."

To my mind, Dr. Ajmal's view, though basically valid, seems to concern itself more with 'being' (—'let the sub-cultures be'—), rather than, 'becoming', with maintaining the desired status quo rather than striving towards a

1. "Points of View on National Integration", Pub: Pakistan Council for National Integration, Rawalpindi, 1966.

desirable goal—national integration. That, though a voluntary effort, has nonetheless, to be conscious and purposive, if we want to avoid a misdirected frittering away of energy and to achieve encouraging results in a conceivable future. 'Awareness' may be the beginning of it, but without action it cannot be 'all'.

Integration : The First Step

Whatever the detailed reasons and causes that hinder integration, it seems to me essentially a matter of outlook and understanding, and therefore, of education. Thus, any mission to create integration would have to begin with a reorientation of outlook and a change in one's mentality and psyche, point of view, of heart, if you like. It must start with an attitude of open-mindedness, large-heartedness and acceptance. An acceptance of :—

- (a) The fact that we are geographically, historically, religiously, spiritually, and ideologically—one and indivisible nation, whatever the minor differences of language, dress, diet, colour and complexion. As a nation, we have come to stay. Therefore, not only our past is one and common, but our future, also.
- (b) But we are also a complex and pluralistic society. The differences (cultural) are normal, natural, healthy and therefore, worthy of acceptance. They should be allowed to grow and blossom. Exchange and understanding of such differences should be encouraged. In this, the role of different languages is most important. Instead of expecting my neighbour to forget his language or to learn mine first, I myself should set the example, take the initiative and learn his language, also. How can two brothers understand each other without being able to converse ? The attitude should be of live and let live, of fair give and take, of mutual goodwill,

trust, affection and brotherliness ; of faith, trust and belief.

- (c) In other fields, particularly **economic** and political, all efforts should be made to remove the causes of dissension and to bring about **greater parity**, harmony and oneness—and **actively cooperative interdependence** and joint planning and development on a coordinated, inter-provincial and national level.
- (d) The physical distances should not lead to the creation of any odd complex and should not be allowed to become a disabling and crippling handicap but should be used as a spur to heightened activity towards unity—through roads, modernisation, development, communications and progress. Efforts should be made to convert this disadvantage into an advantage ; and to make up for it in other fields of activity and creative national pursuits. Apparent mishaps and failures, when faced squarely, can often be converted into success. We are, after all, a small country as compared to some of our neighbours, and therefore, more manageable and less problematic.

The Crux of the Matter

The crux of the matter seems to be that national integration, being a national need and objective, requires the active goodwill and cooperation not just of the government but of the entire nation. Work, devoted and persistent, needs to be done at all levels, social, cultural, educational, religious, political and economic. In the midst of currents, cross-currents and counter-currents, individuals and groups can, by generating conducive thought and action, create an atmosphere favourable to the cause,

whether politically they belong to the treasury or their loyalties are with the opposition. No cause can thrive in a vacuum or on lip-profession or sentimental slogans and calculated or careless cliches, alone. The right kind of atmosphere needs to be provided in order to promote the ideal.

Let us face it squarely and accept that integration, even though a matter of attitude and outlook, is not just a cultural, intellectual or national problem. No doubt in tackling it we need to have a broad vision, a national horizon and a catholic or cosmic outlook. But it is also an economic and political issue. Economic, because it is linked with the question of parity between and within the various regions and the different classes of society. Political, because the economic aspect is often picked up, blown out of proportion and used or misused for personal, party and political ends. Economically then, it must be and has been, conceded that parity is essential for unity. Efforts are being made and should continue to be made to achieve the desired parity. That will, of course, quite understandably, take time. It is also a question of our ideology, of the future economic and political set up we are striving for, of political and economic democracy, of Islamic Secularism, Islamic Democracy and the Islamic Welfare State. Unless, then, the question of our future economic and political ideology, complex and pattern is solved in a determinate and conclusive or final manner, the issue of national integration will remain only partly tackled.

In the field of literature, culture, education, art, journalism, and related matters, it has already been suggested that efforts have to be made (and are being made) to bridge the small and larger gulfs to bring the people close, in the larger national interest. By bringing their hearts and minds together—through acceptance and greater understanding or awareness.

While efforts are being made to understand and preserve the all-too-natural cultural and linguistic differences, greater

Conclusion

The Dynamics of Integration

attention can be focussed on exploring, encouraging and enlarging the common areas and meeting ground of mutual affection, rapport, dialogue and communication. This, of course, will go on with the passage of time. For integration is a dynamic process. It can never be static; even though it has been described by some as, "The end result of social processes which tend to harmonise the diverse and conflicting units of national life—a process resulting in reciprocal accommodation and an increased sense of identification with the nation as a whole". But this end result is an ideal, a state of growth and being which is constantly evolving and eternal. Therefore, it would not do to rely on external agencies and catalysts, like crises or wars, to promote integration. These are neither natural nor desirable. Peace is the normal and ideal condition of existence. Integration, then, has to be an innate, self-generating and normal condition of our national life, whatever term we may use to denote it, whether unity or integrity or cohesion or unification or oneness or the familiar integration. But on all levels, social, cultural, educational, intellectual, mass, political and economic, though the ways and means of tackling it may be different, it would begin with the same change in and broadening of outlook and attitude. We have to be willing to learn and know. We must learn to receive, accept and understand, to give and take generously. We have got to shed our prejudices and change our narrow attitudes. Parochialism and provincialism must give way to heightened national consciousness and ennobling humanitarianism. For that is the first step towards national integration—and thus, to Pakistan's security and salvation.

The Masses

It has been a rather strange phenomenon in Pakistan that:

the masses have almost always led its intelligentsia, rather than the reverse. The latter have been too busy in worshipping each rising sun, toeing the line, sitting on the fence, maintaining the status quo, defending the system, changing colours, turning coats, and crossing the floor—etc. etc. In such a situation, if Pakistan cannot afford another war, it cannot stand another civil strife, either—be it through parochialism, subversion, sabotage, reactionary insurrection, disintegration or revolutionary class conflict.

The Intelligentsia

The Quaid-e-Azam had a different role for the educated, and enlightened. Perhaps we would do well to reiterate his unforgettable words cited earlier :-

“What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do ?... The intelligentsia in all countries in the world have been the pioneers of any movement... The masses are wide-awake. They only want your guidance and lead. Come forward as servants of Islam, organise the people economically, socially, educationally and politically, and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by everybody”.¹

National Goals

Ideological renaissance and motivation, national integration through ‘unity, faith and discipline’ and Pakistan’s security are truly great and noble ideals to strive for dedicatedly, in the light of the above inspiring lead of the father of the nation, the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. For without them, we are lost and doomed. The loss of ideology is, indeed, the loss of identity, direction and destination ; of being and belonging.

1. *Presidential Address : 27th Session, All India Muslim League, Lahore, 22—24 march, 1940.*

It is entirely upto us to save our rich and fundamentally sound heritage—cultural and ideological.

Parochialism

“As long as you do not throw off this poison (provincialism) in our body politic, you will never be able to weld yourself, mould yourself, galvanise yourself into a real true nation....So what is the use of saying, ‘We are Bengalis, or Sindhis or Patnans or Punjabis’. No, we are Muslims. Islam has taught us this...you belong to a Nation now. Therefore, if you want to build up yourself into a nation, for God’s sake give up this provincialism. Provincialism has been one of the curses and so is sectionism” ‘....

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1. *The Quaid-e-Azam : Public Meeting, Dacca, 21st March, 1948.*
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CHAPTER-8

Some Inherent Compulsions And Pressures

Pressure Groups and Power Elites

While some subverters of the Islamic Ideology of Pakistan seek to exploit the nationalities notion for this purpose, all the pressure groups and power elites in the country are unified and unanimous on :

(i) Promoting the sovereign independence and oneness of Pakistan. *And,*

(ii) Preserving its basic (and Islamic) national ideology.

Interpretations may differ, either wilfully or through misconception. There may also be shades of differences in political views and loyalties, from extremists on the left to those on the right. But none can dare to disown the two afore-mentioned bases of national integration and nationhood, in fact. Those who claim to be leftists, progressives, liberals, socialists or democrats are apparently as committed to these basic loyalties and creeds as those whom they dub and decry as obscurantists, die-hards, fossils, rightists, 'Islam-pasands' and the sole custodians of the ideology of Pakistan. Their secret intentions and inner motives may or may not be different. Such holy professions may only be a matter of political expediency. They may only be lying low and playing safe. While this strategy and tactics

may be a reflection of their cleverness, they also betray the inherent weakness and cowardice of such people—and speak volumes of the basic strength and stability of the Ideology of Pakistan. That is because so long as Islam remains the faith, creed and religion of the masses of Pakistan, no one in the country can dare to raise his head against its basic ideology, openly. Sly subversion is another matter. But the people are now politically mature, wide-awake and wary enough to let that go unnoticed and unchallenged for long.

Kinds of Pressure Groups

The main pressure groups in Pakistan can be listed below :

- (i) The **Politicians**—political parties including the ruling party or the government and the opposition.
- (ii) The **Bureaucracy**—civilian as well as of the armed forces.
- (iii) The **Economic Vested Interests**—the industrialists, land-lords and nouveau riche.
- (iv) The **Intelligentsia**—the educated, lawyers, teachers, intellectuals, students, writers, the bourgeoisie, the press and the youth.
- (v) The **Masses**—the labour, the tenant and the tiller of the soil and the poor and middle classes.

Generally speaking, the first two are policy makers, even as the second implement policy and the third, influence, affect and manoeuvre it. The fourth and fifth are the critics and watch-dogs, the keepers of the nation's conscience and the custodians of its interests. At least, that is how it should or could be.

Nature of Commitments

The vested interests and detailed commitments of these loose 'lobbies', pressure pockets and power elites differ, as is to be expected. The politician-patrons have their proteges, followers and even their agents among the masses, the classes and the intelligentsia. The students' role and participation in politics dates back to the pre-partition days. But the fundamental nature of the political commitments of these various groups might be based on the following considerations and factors :-

- (i) A bit of genuine, honest conviction.
- (ii) Expediency—situational, political or personal.
- (iii) Vested interests—lasting or fleeting.
- (iv) Misconception or misleading—even political confusion or immaturity.
- (v) Group or social psychology, herd instinct, demagoguery or political fads, imported and exotic, or indigenous and home-sprung.

The General Run

There has been much leftist-oriented talk, occasionally. But little exemplary practice, pace-setting, trail-blazing or practising. That is because people today have learnt to read and talk. Thanks to the mass media of communication, ready-made knowledge is easily available, dockets of ideas are free-floating and the gift of the gab is imitatively infectious. Not much sweating and home-work is to be done in a milieu replete with mimicry. Where loyalties can easily be purchased or coerced into silent submission, the courage of one's convictions is bound to be a rarity. The result is massive ennui, cynicism, cowardice, confusion, indifference, lying low, playing safe, crossing the floor, turn-coating and horse trading of all kinds. Naturally, sincere commitments and steadfast loyalties are rare birds.

The Leftists

Individually, one does come across at times theoretically intelligent and impressive camp-followers of the so-called left. But how really left they are in actual practice can be seen both in their personal lives as well as their political behaviour. In fact, they are romantically wishing and waiting for the socialist revolution to take over, when they would make all the sacrifices they now preach of, and then set the example. The history of the Pakistani socialists is generally a history of dilution, escapism and compromise—moral, ideological, intellectual and material. That way they have done more harm to the socialist creed than their antagonists, the rightists. Ironically, interestingly, that way they have also served the 'rightist cause', (if any ?!), perhaps better than the rightists, themselves. Today they are really the moderates and middle-men of politics, who have stemmed the tide of socialism in these parts; and set it back by decades. This has turned out to be a blessing in disguise for the Islamic Ideology of Pakistan. That is why the masses have continued to humour them. And this, incidentally, has been the big and successful conspiracy of the classes and vested interests.

The Masses

Though quite wide-awake and politically conscious today, as compared to the past; (thanks to the pre-1971 role of the P.P.P., mainly), they are still somewhat amenable, manoeuvrable and gullible. That, despite their uncanny native cleverness, ability and sixth sense to see through, read the writing on the wall at times and even expose or debunk pervasive hypocrisy and cant, opportunism and selfishness of the political and economic elite. Basically, they know that the acquisition of some fundamental rights or fringe benefits and peripheral privileges are as much possible peacefully through labour laws, constitutional

provisions and land reforms under Islam as via socialistic slogans. Their main concern, despite some beguiled labour leaders, is with a viable welfare state. And that is quite possible under Islam—which, they know, has yet to be given an honest try. So, there's really no point in discrediting or discarding what has never been tried out truly.

The Rightists

According to some, it is easier to find in Pakistan a genuine and practising Muslim rather than a true socialist who practises what he preaches and implements his own precepts. It is because the Islamic Ideology is a part of our collective psyche and sub-conscious, and is deep-rooted in our history, culture, traditions, beliefs, faith and way of life. On the other hand, grafting, adopting or aping an alien life-style—especially when it demands much suffering and sacrifice—is not an easy thing.

Despite the basic soundness of the Islamic Ideology, the rightists are neither united nor strong. This is because of the human factor—human frailties and weaknesses—political compromises, lust for power and ambition, economic vested interests and material considerations. They also need to make an honest and abiding effort to understand, interpret, adapt and apply the lasting basic principles of their ideology to the prevalent conditions and requirements.

The Vested Interests

The religious and secular political parties, politicians and policy makers, the industrialists, the land-lords, the 'baboo' and bureaucrats, the philistines, pharisees and brahmins, in Pakistan, like the leaders and the led, the masses and the classes, even the intelligentsia and the intellectuals—are, by and large—status-quo seekers and traditionalists. For historically, they are safe-players and survivors. Their lust for life is insatiable. That is how the people of these

parts survived the raiding hordes of history, and their alien cultures and exotic civilizations, absorbing much and assimilating even more. This points to the essential sanity of the people of the region called Pakistan. They are, despite all their warmth and emotoinalism, a resilient and adaptable, large-hearted and open-minded, middle-of-the-path people and quite a balanced and moderate society.

Redeeming Features

That is the reason why there has been no bloody coup or revolution in this country so far,—excluding the civil war of 1971, caused at least partly by alien conspiracy, armed intervention and aggression. (But then, the Bengalis have always been more volatile). And there is little likelihood of one, unless repression is taken to an explosive extreme. The reason for this moderation is the practical approach of the poor nation. It would not risk the little it has saved or acquired by blowing up the roof-tops. Further, while the military and the civilian bureaucracy have been clever enough to lie low, wait in the wings and manoeuvre themselves to the top opportunely or jockey into power, these status seeking status-quoers are guided by traditions of moderation and conventions of propriety, (no matter how phoney and make-shift). Their approach may be Baconian or even Machiaevellian. But it is basically earth-bound and practical. And they are also quite influenced for good or ill by the land-lord turned politician turned industrialist—etc. etc.—and vice-versa. In fact, many of these stalwarts of the civilian and military bureaucracy are themselves also the (new and petty) custodians of politics, commerce, trade, industry, economy and the land (s), soil and earth. They cannot be conceived of as willing to destroy what they have achieved with such graft and cunning, sweat and labour over the years - unless by some quirk of the madness of politicking. After all, the adage stands, that 'all power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. The same

is true of the Pakistani bureaucrats some politician and other cliques and coteries. No doubt they served Pakistan well in its creation and infancy by helping to set the house in order. But they also grabbed political power by exploiting the fast deteriorating circumstances and conditions to bend their way and serve their narrow and selfish vested interests.

Conclusions

As things stand contemporaneously, generally speaking, the masses as well as the classes of Pakistan, by nature, tradition, temperament and aspiration, are all for a preservation of the basic Islamic Ideology of Pakistan. For they are pragmatists and realists. They may be status-seekers in search of plenty. But they are also the complacent beneficiaries of the peaceful status-quo. They believe in playing safe and conserving what they have acquired. As upholders of the policy of peaceful transition, they believe in evolutionary change and pacifistic progress rather than in bloody revolutions—unless reformative evolution defuses itself with time, all hope for change and betterment dies with an unbridgeable credibility gap in a lost nation of cynics and revolution becomes absolutely inevitable. For the best way to avoid a bloody revolution is to ensure a peaceful pervasive, effective—progressive and reformative evolution. The choice is still ours to make and hold, follow and implement.

CHAPTER-9

The Historical Panorama and Economic Perspective

The Pagent of History

Without going into details, two points will be highlighted in this context :

- (i) Right from the earliest times to 1947, the time of the creation of Pakistan, the areas comprising this country formed a distinct and unified unit, as compared to the rest of the sub-continent.
- (ii) This situation remained basically unaltered after 1947.

Before Partition

"The present Pakistan comprising the four provinces of N.W.F.P., the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan and the State of Jammu and Kashmir, is a geographical, historical, cultural, religious and racial unit".¹

1. Ahmed Abdulla : *"The Historical Background of Pakistan And Its People*. Pub : Tanzeem Publishers, Karachi, 1973.

Ancient Pakistan Seldom Indian

Even during the Hindu period, the people of the Indus Valley in the West and Padma-Meghna Delta in the East, triumphed most of the time. Both the wings retained their independence of the Gangetic Valley. As a matter of fact, 'Pak-based' governments held their sway over North India longer and more often than India-based governments have dominated the territories of ancient Pakistan. Further, the pre-partition Pakistan has always looked westwards as an independent country, with which lands it has had more links than with the Gangetic Valley. Only with the advent of the Muslims, did the two wings of 'India' fall under North Indian rule. And even this period is not free from attempts at independence.

During its 4,500 years' recorded history, ancient Pakistan has been under the yoke of Central Indian Governments only thrice, i.e. the reigns of the Maurya Dynasty (3rd century B.C.), the Turko-Afghan and the British periods. And these three were Buddhists, Muslims and Christians, respectively. The Mauryans held sway for 100 years (300-200 B.C.), and so did the British (1848-1947). But the Muslims ruled for about 500 years. The so-called Hindu (or pre-Muslim) period, which is said to have seen the sub-continental expansion of the Hindu empire, can be divided as follows :

The Mauryas (3rd century B.C.), the Guptas (4th century A.D.), the Gurjara empire of Raja Bhoj (8th century A.D.) and the Pratiharas (9th century A.D.). But even in this case, the fact remains that but for the 100-year old (Buddhist) Mauryan dynasty, the Hindu governments did not ever rule olden Pakistan, for they always remained east of the river Sutlej.

Ideological Identity

Here a pertinent factor of ideological motivation and separateness emerges. All the three religions mentioned earlier,

i.e. Buddhism, Islam and Christianity, under which the sub-continent was ever united, (under the Mauryans, Turko-Afghans and the British), were universal and egalitarian, unlike Hinduism—which is narrowly caste/and credo-ridden and confined to India, alone. (Except for the Arabs and the British, who came by the southern seas, all other outside rulers of India came to it overland from the North, North-West or North-East). They upheld the ideology of the global equality and brotherhood of mankind. This proves that only a superior ideology, appealing to the souls and spirits, the minds and hearts, of the masses and classes, alike, could unite and keep the sub-continent together.

Bangla Desh and Pakistan

That is the common spiritual and ideological factor which underlines the inherent oneness of the people of Pakistan and Bangla Desh. Indeed, they have much in common—history and past experiences, religion and ideology, attitudes and stances, aspirations and outlook, enemies and problems. As in the case of Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism and Christianity, so in many other matters, their reactions and views have been similar. "This phenomenon of the similarity of stance between Pakistan and Bangla Desh has persisted all through history ! But divided by a thousand miles of Hindu territory and Brahmin intrigues, they could not unite....The history of this sub-continent is a history of perpetual struggle of the peripheral areas of the Indus Valley (Pakistan) and the Padma-Meghna Delta (Bangla Desh) against the Gangetic Valley (Indian) government".¹

Pre-Historic Pakistan : (2,500 B.C.-1,500 B.C.)

This can be identified with the glorious Indus Valley Civilization, sprawling over 1,000 miles from Kashmir to the Arabian Sea. This, it is to be noted, was absolutely autono-

mous from the present-day Hind. It covered the whole of contemporary Pakistan. And it had two main centres of government and culture :-

- (i) Harappa on the Ravi, in Sahiwal, the Punjab ; and
- (ii) Moenjo Daro on the Indus, in Larkana, Sindh.

Its two most significant features were : (i) an independent country and a free land ; and (ii) a common, unifying culture, alongwith a common system of government.

The Indus Valley Civilization lasted for 1,000 years from about 2,500 B.C. to 1,500 B.C. To say the least, it was remarkably prosperous and flourished uniquely.

The Aryans : (1,500 B.C. – 1,000 B.C.—522 B.C.)

They invaded India around 1,500 B.C., and ended the Indus Valley Civilization. Although these 'savages' had no culture of their own, they picked up much from the Indus Valley Civilization. However, so long as they occupied these regions (of pre-Pakistan) for about 500 years (from 1,500 B.C. to 1,000 B.C.), they did not create the caste-ridden Hindu religion—which came only after their crossing of the Sutlej river and occupation of the Gangetic Valley.

Even during the Aryan occupation of present Pakistan, from 1,500 B.C. to 1,000 B.C. i.e. for 500 years, it was a separate and distinct land. Thereafter, for another 500 years, (1,000 B.C.—500 B.C.), not much is available about present-day Pakistan—except that : (i) it was independent of the Aryans ; (ii) was against the strange religion generated by them ; and (iii) the two civilizations were outcasts to each other.

The Persians: (522 B. C. -- 326 B. C.)

They are recorded to have attacked 'Pakistan' either under

King Cyrus or most probably, under his grandson Darius (522 B. C. to 486 B. C.), who made it a province of the Achaemenian Empire. It prospered economically; and evolved links with the Middle East.

From Darius (500 B. C.) to Alexander (327 B. C.), i.e. for about 200 years, this region was again completely autonomous.

Under Alexander: (326 B. C. -- 300 B. C.)

Alexander invaded the Punjab during 326/27-325 B. C. In pre-Pakistan, also, his forces massacred and pillaged extensively. The points to be noted about Alexander's invasion and occupation are :-

- (i) Pakistan's present and Alexanderian boundaries almost coincide—from the Hindu Kush and Swat to the Beas and then to Karachi. The whole region was a single geo-political, socio-cultural and economic unit under the Persians.
- (ii) Akin to the Indus Valley Civilization area, it again remained independent of the rest of India—and was dove-tailed to a western power.

The Mauryan Empire (300 B.C.—200 B.C.)

The net result of Alexander's invasion was :

- (i) Politically, by out-doing the Achaemenians, it relieved and weakened the already loosening Persian hold over these parts.
- (ii) The resultant power vacuum invited, for the first time, an Indian in-roads of this region.

And so pre-Pakistan got engulfed into the Indian Mauryan

Empire in 300 B.C., peacefully and without much resistance. Thus, for the first time in its history, this region :

- (i) became integrated geo-politically with India ;
- (ii) got ruled by it ; and
- (iii) began to look eastwards.

Even so, Pakistan was spared the agency and humility of Hindu rule—though it became a part of the Indian Empire. That was because of King Asoka's humanism which inspired the people to embrace Buddhism—to which they stuck till the advent of Islam.

The Greco-Bactrians: (200 B.C.—100 B.C.).

The Mauryan rule did not last longer than 100 years. In 200 B.C., the Great King Demetrius, then ruling Afghanistan, with his capital at Bactria (Balkh), occupied Pakistan and delinked it from India. This blazed in the golden Greco-Bactrian Period ; with the capital of the empire in Taxila.

The Sakas : (100 B.C.—70 A.D.)

From now onwards I might as well draw freely and heavily from Ahmed Abdulla's 'Pakistan And Its People' (—which I consider to be essential reading on the subject).

"The Greco-Bactrian rule, like that of its predecessors, the Mauryan, did not last for more than a century. Internecine warfare and internal schisms soon weakened them. Pakistan was divided into several petty Greek Kingdoms which easily fell victim to the great wave of Scythians (Sakas), which took place in the middle of the first century B.C. This was a huge sea of nomads which, pressed in Central Asia and on China's borders by fiercer and tougher people, migrated on an extensive scale. They overthrew the Greek rulers and established their sovereignty

as well as settlements all over Pakistan.'

"It would be of interest to note here that during the last five hundred years of the pre-Christian era, till this time (i.e., first century B.C.), Pakistan was mostly connected with the Greco-Persian world. The Saka invasions from Central Asia, therefore, opened a new chapter in the history of Pakistan'.

"Henceforth Pakistan became a permanent hunting ground for Central Asian tribes who can be vaguely termed as Turko-Mongoloid. So far the ethnical composition of Pakistan's population was Greco-Iranian-Aryan, but from the first century B.C. i.e., for the last over two thousand years, the predominant element has been Turko-Mongoloid'.

The Kushans (70 A.D.—450 A.D.)

"The next important chapter in Pakistan's history begins with the arrival of another wave of Central Asian tribes called the Yuch-chi. Because of the turbulent and unsettled conditions on the borders of China, one tribe was chasing out the other and occupying its grazing lands. One such movement brought the Yuch-chi to Pakistan, a branch of which was known as the Kushans. This was about the middle of the first century A.D. The Kushans overthrew the Saka-Parthian princes and established an empire which became one of the world's greatest and most distinguished, both from the point of view of territory as well as cultural and religious achievements. The Kushan rule, however, did not completely eliminate the Sakas from Pakistan. They had permanently settled down in these areas in large numbers and continued to be governed by their princes, who merely extended allegiance to the Kushan Kings'.

"The Kushans, with their capital at Purushapura (Peshawar) had their dominions on both sides of the Hindu Kush i.e. exten-

ding up to and including parts of (Russian) Turkistan in the north-west, embracing the whole of modern Afghanistan ; and in the east, the entire Pakistan and major portion of northern India. The greatest ruler of the dynasty, **Kanishka**, had adopted Buddhism ; and it was during his period that **both Buddhist religion and Greek art reached their zenith**, which is known under the nomenclature of **Gandhara Civilization**. It was again during his regime and because of his efforts that Buddhism spread in Central Asia and China. This period is regarded as the most important in the history of Buddhism.'

"A **unique feature** of Kanishka's empire was that with the capital at Peshawar, **its frontiers touched the borders of all the great civilizations of the time**, while its Central Asian provinces lay astride the Roman-Middle East-Chinese trade routes. The Roman Empire during the days of Trajan and Hadrian (98-138 A.D.) had expanded furthest East, almost touching Pakistan's Kushan Empire. Similarly, Kanishka's conquests had brought **Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar within Pakistan's jurisdiction, effecting direct contact with China**. This was one of the most important factors in providing impetus to art and architecture, science and learning in Pakistan. The best specimens belong to this period, mostly executed during the 2nd century A.D., in the reigns of Kanishka and his son Huvishka. The Kushans exchanged embassies with the Chinese as well as the Romans.'

"The Kushan empire dissolved in the third century of our era. The Iranian Shabis of the Sassanid dynasty took in the western territories. Various dynasties of Middle Asia took hold of the lands north of the Hindu Kush.'

"After ruling for over two hundred years, from the middle of the 1st century A.D. to the middle of the 3rd century A.D., the Kushan Empire collapsed. Already, a few decades earlier, its frontiers had shrunk to those of Pakistan, having shed the

territories beyond the Hindu Kush in Central Asia and eastward of the Sutlej in India. But this time Iran could not keep its sway over Pakistan for long.'

The Huns (450 A.D.—1010 A.D.)

"Coming back to the Hun invasion, it may be mentioned that this was also, like that of the Sakas, one of the greatest migration of Central Asian nomadic tribes in the history of Pakistan and the subcontinent. The particular branch of the Huns which was encamped in the Oxus Valley which came to Pakistan, was known as Eathalite or White Huns. They started coming in wave after wave from the middle of the 5th century A.D. and very soon became rulers of Pakistan. One of their mighty rulers was Mehar Gul (Sunflower) whose capital was Sakala, Sialkot.'

The mass immigration of Huns and Gurjaras, extending over the 5th and the 6th centuries, constitutes a turning point in the history of Pakistan and of northern India, both politically and socially. Politically, because henceforth, till the arrival of Muslims, they were the ruling class in Pakistan and in most of northern India. Socially, because the origin of almost all the tribes of Pakistan and those of Rajputana is traceable to them.'

Arab Rule : (712 A.D.—1000 A.D.)

"During this 500-year period, again, Pakistan was under quite independent Rajput kingdoms, separate from those of India.'

Muhammad Bin Qasim

"During the period of Rajput supremacy in north India i.e. 7th to 12th century A.D., another event occurred in the history

of Pakistan which ultimately brought about a profound change in its entire composition and character. The great Muslim soldier, Mohammad Bin Qasim, conquered Pakistan early in the 8th century (712 A.D.) and extended the Umayyad Muslim rule to the Indus Valley. Strangely indeed, like Alexander, he travelled and subdued the whole of Pakistan, from Karachi to Kashmir. The only difference between the two was that while Alexander entered Pakistan from the north, Mohammad Bin Qasim came from the south.'

'But Mohammad Bin Qasim's conquests up to Kashmir could not be sustained by Muslims for long. The Umayyad rule had stretched too far, straining its nerves and exhausting its resources to the breaking point.'

"During this 300-year period, also, (712 A.D.—1000 A.D.), as can be observed from the above facts, Pakistan had hardly anything to do with India. Both the northern and southern parts were having their own independent governments—the latter owing nominal allegiance to the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphs, again looking westward.'

Ghaznavid Rule (1110 A.D.—1187 A.D.)

"The next period in Pakistan's history begins with the defeat of Raja Jaipal and his son Anandpal, rulers of the northern areas of Pakistan, and of the Ismaili and Carmathian rulers of the southern areas i.e., Multan and Sind, at the hands of Mahmud Ghaznavi, leading to the unity of the two regions. The eleventh century ushered in an era of Muslim rule over the entire length and breadth of Pakistan. During the 32 years of his rule, Mahmud invaded Pakistan and India more than 17 times; and though he carried his successful arms up to Muthra, Kanauj, Baran and Gawaliar, he did not annex any area beyond the Ravi. As such, Pakistan continued to remain separate from

India, again looking westward, constituting a part of the Ghaznavid Empire. The boundaries also were almost the same which had been coming down from the days of the Indus Valley Civilization. It will be noticed that this phenomenon of Pakistan forming a separate country, with its eastern boundaries running upto either the Ravi, Beas or Sutlej, has been recurring again and again.'

"The Ghaznavid rule in Pakistan lasted for over a hundred and seventy-five years from, say A.D. 1110 to 1187 A.D. It was during this period that Lahore assumed considerable importance as the eastern-most bastion of Muslim power and as an outpost for further advance in the East. It was a city of Ghazis, saints and intellectuals. Apart from being the second capital and later on, the only capital, of the Ghaznavid kingdom of Pakistan, it had a great military and strategic significance. Whoever controlled this city, could look forward to and be in a position to sweep the whole of East Punjab upto Panipat and Delhi'.

"Contrary to the general belief that Mahmud Ghaznavi was a Hindu-killer or destroyer of Hindu religious places, he was extremely liberal towards them. Not only Mahmud Ghaznavi but his successors also were great patrons of the Hindus. It may be of interest to note here that Mahmud Ghaznavi's exploits of Somnath and the destruction of the temple are mentioned only by Muslim historians. No Hindu record, either contemporary or of a later date, makes any mention of it." ¹

The Focal Fact

From the foregoing, the focal fact emerges that right from the ancient days of the Indus Valley Civilization down to the fall of the Ghaznavid rule towards the end of the 12th century A.D., for more than three and a half thousand

1. *"The Historical Background of Pakistan And Its People"*
By : Ahmed Abdulla. Pub : Tanzeem Publishers, Karachi,
1973.

years, Pakistan has always and invariably been a single, unified and distinct geo-political and strategic entity, either autonomous, or at least as a part of distant or outside powers located to her west. Its dependence on or part formation with India was quite an exception—and for an extremely short span of time. It was only when the Muslims set themselves up securely at Delhi early in the 13th century A.D., that Pakistan became a part of India. But that was not in the pre-Muslim era. This unified and expansive pattern was preserved by their British successors. But when they quit the sub-continent in 1947, Pakistan once again assumed its sovereign status and historical 'unitary' stance. **The Indian psy-war and subversive propaganda that the division of the sub-continent was unnatural, impractical and unrealistic, is false and deceptive.** The Muslims themselves had joined this region of Pakistan with India, with the advent of the 13th century A.D., when they founded the Sultanate of Delhi. And they themselves severed it from India in 1947 ; thus restoring it to its normal and natural geo-political and ideological entity.

Post-Ghaznavid Era (1147 A.D.—1947 A.D.)

After storming Pakistan and most of northern India and Bangla Desh, by the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century A.D., Mohammad Ghorî nominated four governors for these regions. Once again history decreed that Pakistan and Bangla Desh be treated as separate from the rest of India.

When the Abdali Kingdom began to wane in the beginning of the 19th century, being sapped and divided by in-fighting and feuds, Pakistan did not fall back into the Indian control. An autonomous/independent kingdom emerged in the Punjab, ruled by the Sikh Chief, Ranjit Singh. It is note-worthy that the eastern parameters of Ranjit Singh's empire did not extend beyond the Sutlej ; the historical limits of Pakistan. The Sikhs governed for about half a century. Thereafter, Pakistan again

fell to Indian rule. But not the Hindus. The last sovereign was the alien British ; who, after reigning over Pakistan for about a century (1848-1947), handed over these zones and regions back to their original masters and people - the Muslims of Pakistan and Bangladesh, inspired by Islam, their living faith and religion, and motivated by their Islamic Ideology.

Conclusions

But for the Mauryan, Turko-Mughal and British periods—Buddhist, Islamic and Christian, respectively—Pakistan retained its autonomy and sovereignty throughout history—or was occasionally a part of a Western power. More often, Northern India has been dominated by Pakistan-based kingdoms than vice-versa. To illustrate and recapitulate briefly, the Greco-Bactrians had their capital way up in the north—Taxila. But they governed over much of northern India for long. Likewise, the Kushans, with their seat of governmental authority in Peshawar, dominated most of the Gangetic Valley. The Sakas and Huns, similarly, while securely perched in Pakistan, held sway over much of North India.

The foregoing discussion and quotations amply demonstrate that **historically Pakistan has always been a geo-political, economic and socio-cultural unit, distinct and autonomous from the rest of India.**

After 1947

In August, 1947 British India got partitioned into the sovereign Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Hindu Bharat, and Pakistan was created on 14th August, 1947. Thereafter, Pakistan has remained absolutely independent and autonomous--thus proving and reinforcing the above dictum and truism of history. Several attempts have been made to galvanise it further, politically, e.g. by the creation of the One Unit (1956) in the western wing

and the introduction of the principle of parity between the two wings. The first was the handiwork of President F.M. Ayub Khan ; the second was contemporaneous almost with the birth of Pakistan, and was upheld both by the founders of Pakistan including the Quaid-e-Azam, and by the Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 12th March, 1949. Yahyah Khan did away with both (1970), one for its unpopularity and rejection by the people and the leadership, the second, under pressure from the NAP in both the wings and from the Bangalis. Both steps are considered to be premature, politically precipitatory and unconstitutional by some, today. While the first (the undoing of the One Unit) has had a salutary effect on the politics of (west) Pakistan and in curbing parochialism, the substitution of the basic principle of parity by the formula of one-man-one-vote, has helped in the constitutional disintegration of the old Pakistan. That was by making the Bengali majority permanently dominant, at least numerically, over the western wing. This cut at the very roots of the principles of federalism and of co-equal federating units in a genuine federation.

Apart from the above internal follies leading to the dismemberment of Pakistan, externally, too, it has been conspired and aggressed against and attacked several times. The last blow came in 1971, when the eastern wing broke loose from it, with an armed attack by India. Let us hope that it was the final blow.

Despite its chequered history, demolished status and deformed or reformed shape, Pakistan has managed to survive—and to retain its inherent and historic oneness. Today, though beleaguered and much smaller, it is far more viable, resilient and united—for it is an organic and intrinsic unit and unity, both.

The Economic Constraints

All of Pakistan's economic factors and indicators require

and decree that it is an unassailable unity. Its primary economic indices and compulsions are :

- (i) Its economic problems.
- (ii) The natural distribution of its limited resources - material and human ; mineral and agricultural.
- (iii) The state of Pakistan's economy and the stage of its economic development.
- (iv) Pakistan's economic strategy - its policy, planning and execution.

Pakistan is a small and poor country with limited and yet undiscovered mineral resources. It is, in many ways, a typical under-developed or developing country, with the problems usual to one of population explosion and short food production/supply ; poverty, inadequate education and ill-health. To these can be added, in Pakistan's case, very limited job opportunities ; water-logging, salinity, land reclamation, afforestation, housing and welfare. And Pakistan's defence and security, above all. All these require well-coordinated and concerted efforts over the years, for such problems cannot be tackled over-night. Common water-sources, hydro-electric projects, dams, roads, canals, bridges and means of communication make all the regions and provinces of Pakistan a closely knit net-work. The distribution of its restricted resources makes it an absolutely interdependent unit. As such, Pakistan's economic strategy, policy and planning, and its execution and implementation, have to be integrated on a national (and not divisive) level. For Pakistan is already too small to stand further division. The sub-divisions simply won't be viable. Likewise, Pakistan may have enough to share, but little to spill or split.

Geographically, as stated earlier, Pakistan is a compact and

well-integrated unit. And geography, along with the climate of a country, determines its economy in a large way. The geo-economic unity of Pakistan is rooted in its Indus Basin riverine system, which is the economic nerve centre and strength of the nation. The natural frontier between India and Pakistan lies in the Indo-Gangetic regional divide. Pakistan's actual boundary runs between the rivers Beas and Ravi; going southwards along the Sufed Koh, Tobakakar and the Ghagai ranges. These divide Pakistan from Afghanistan. This goes to prove that the geo-economic unity of Pakistan is quite distinct and discernible from its neighbours, India and Afghanistan. The geo-economic facts and factors of the various regions and provinces of Pakistan establish that they are greatly interlinked and integrated—by geo-politics, history, culture and aspirations—in fact, the sheer instinct to survive and the human lust for life. Their inter-linking and interdependent power supply, grid, dam and barrage system is one major determinant. The lands of Baluchistan and the NWFP are fed by the produce of the rivers of the Punjab and Sindh. The Tribal Areas are succoured and sustained by the rest of Pakistan, collectively. The Frontier is well-known to the other provinces for its electric supply, water, minerals, fruits, herbs and tobacco etc. In return, it gets its foodgrains from the Punjab and industrial goods from Sind. As compared to its huge area of 1,34,050 sq. miles, which makes Baluchistan the biggest province of Pakistan, its population is a meagre 24 lakhs, (50% of whom are Pathans). Even so, it is fed by the Punjab and Sindh, because of its barren stretches and unyielding soil. Its rich mineral deposits and natural resources of coal, gas and possibly oil, require huge funds, collective planning and national endeavours for proper execution, prospecting and exploitation.

Population migration for better prospects is plentiful and common in Pakistan. Over 15 lakh Frontier men, alone, inhabit the Punjab and Sind for business and other gainful

employment—for lack of adequate employment opportunities in their home province. Therefore, they find the industrial nerve centres of Sind and the Punjab natural attractions.

This is also true of the investors and entrepreneurs from the NWFP, who own big business, run industry, hold property and acquire land in Sind and the Punjab. The Frontier has no proper means of irrigating all its idle soil and untilled, virgin lands. The result is that about 40 lakh acres of it are unproductive in Kohat, Bannu, D.I. Khan and elsewhere. To reclaim these would require a collective effort of the whole nation, to which all the provinces of Pakistan will have to contribute.

The Punjab, likewise, depends on the other provinces for many essentials and necessities. Even though it has had a big hand in the development of the Karachi Port, it also depends on Karachi for its imports and exports. This is equally true of the other provinces, also. The same now applies to Port Qasim.

Summing Up

I have quoted him copiously already. So I might as well end this chapter with another apt but brief passage from Ahmed Abdulla. (To tell the truth, his book, 'The Historical Background of Pakistan and Its People' is one of the very best on the subject so far, from Pakistan's point of view).

"They (—the provinces of present Pakistan —are also economically interdependent, with the Punjab and Sind producing food and fibre in plenty, and Baluchistan and NWFP having minerals and forest wealth in abundance. The four provinces and Kashmir together present a happy blending and an ideal balancing of nature's bounties. They also represent a unique example of the intermingling of the people of one province with the other... Thus the warp of one province is so deeply and inextricably woven with the woof of the other, that none can disentangle from the other. They together form one body and one soul."

Ahmed Abdulla's frequent references to Kashmir as an integral and national part of Pakistan, are noteworthy. Indeed, geo-politically, strategically and economically Pakistan is incomplete without it. And therefore the rushed-through and deceitful implementation of the partition plan by Radcliffe and Mountbatten makes the partition itself incomplete and unsatisfactory, to say the least.

That is why we have to make all the more efforts not only to preserve our national and total unity in regional diversity, but also to ensure our economic viability by every means possible, along with protecting our state security and geo-strategic interests. Only then will our Islamic welfare programme for 'food clothing and shelter' ('roti, kapra aur makaan'), for all be at all realisable in the foreseeable future.

CHAPTER-10

Summing-Up And Conclusions

Global Vistas

While introducing Bertrand Russell's 'Common Sense And Nuclear Warfare',¹ it was said on its back cover : "The purpose of this book is to suggest that the danger of nuclear war is not one which is due to hostility of the West towards the East or of the East towards the West, but is a **common peril of both sides**, and indeed, of all mankind. A common peril calls for a **common defence**. The peril is caused by the combination of modern science with archaic hatreds. Science, once in existence, cannot be wiped out. The only way to escape the common peril is to produce an **awareness** on both sides, of already existing **common interests** and of the need of their embodiment in common measures for the **general safety**. The first change needed is one of **outlook**. It is only when this has been achieved that agreement on concrete measures will be found not difficult."

National Avenues

What is true of humanity generally in the context of a nuclear war, is essentially also true of the nation in regard to the problem of its security—be it menaced from within or outside. In both cases, whether the danger to the nation is internal (parochialism, subversion etc.) or external (aggression, war, etc.), the peril is to the entire nation, i.e. it is a peril common to all the regions and areas, zones and provinces. This peril, too, like the global peril of nuclear war, calls for a common

1. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, 1959.

defence or strategy for survival. And indeed, there can be no better way out than the creation of a general awareness of the common peril and therefore, of the desirability to take common measures in order to preserve the general safety of all and to promote the common interests. The first step towards that is, no doubt, a change of outlook, in other words, of heart and mind, and the creation of a common outlook—or **Ideology**—on national matters. In brief, the differences have to be narrowed down and bridged over, and the common factors enlarged and encouraged.

Power Patterns

The power elites and pressure groups in Pakistan are well-disposed towards the evolution of such an approach and strategy of survival. That is because they believe in the peaceful transfer of power and the gradual transformation of society. All desirable transitions, according to them, have to be negotiably peaceful and peacefully negotiable.

It would, therefore, be quite safe to assume that : (i) Pakistan's pressure pattern is dominated by mild or at least moderate 'rightists' and status quo maintainers. The main reason is that the simple psychology of power is at play in their psyche and breeding, which prompts them to follow the line of least resistance, and therefore, to seek and maintain the convenient status quo.

(ii) That is why no drastic mutations or bloody revolutions are predictable in the foreseeable future—unless there is persistent, blind and ruthless persecution, suppression and suspension of fundamental rights and of democracy in its widest and human sense.

(iii) But the top leadership of the party in power is much too politically clever and seasoned for that. It is, thus, likely to ensure not only an effective built-in system of 'checks and

balances' of its own, but also to allow enough ventilation and airing, so that the lid does not really blow off. This, despite the not even remotely imaginable act of madness of some trigger-happy hirelins or conspirators—which is impossible under the circumstances...And in spite of the danger from within the (political) ranks, of opportunism, sly ambition, morbid in-fighting, lust for power and frustration etc. This happens in rather close circuited systems—blind ambition arising from the centre of gravity and core of power, where power, has been tasted thirstily, the lust for it is insatiable and it seems tempting enough to be within reach.

There are other reasons for this status-quo psychology of the play-safe, lie-low, status-quo seeking, pragmatic politicians of Pakistan. For example : (i) If the objective and motive force is primarily to seek, seize and stay in power (—and power is the soul and spirit of politics—especially in Pakistan), then why not to get to it peacefully—particularly when that is generally quite manoeuvreable. Why create chaos and turmoil and shed blood uselessly ? (ii) Even today, the political power pattern of Pakistan is quite the same or at least similar to what it was after partition and the Quaid-e-Azam's death. It is Muslim League resurrected and renamed—with, of course, the big difference that it has an incomparably brighter top leadership. But the old hands and (feudal-capitalist-bureaucratic-military-political) vested interests, the power symbols, cliques and coteries have staged a come-back and made their inroads into the national and provincial politics. The names and faces may be different in some cases. But generically, it is old wine in new bottles. This is neither their fault nor that of the leadership, really.

It is, rather, a sad reflection on the true nature of the progressives in this country and of bloodless/quiet/peaceful revolution in Pakistan. The nation gave a chance to the so-called progressives.

But they failed it miserably. Perhaps it was left with no alternative but to make a choice between the better of two given and known, tried and tested evils. The old wine may turn out to be seasoned, after all !

The logical way out is, of course, a constant inflow of new leadership, fresh blood and succeeding lines of political defence. Democracy is claimed to be the best 'hot house', fertile soil and productive ground for that.

In the meantime, for all the afore-stated reasons and discussion, one can, optimistically speaking, foresee a predictably peaceful political evolution in Pakistan. Unless repression and authoritarianism are taken to explosive extremes.

Pakistan : A Well-Integrated Nation

As elaborated in this book, Pakistan today is really a well-integrated nation—from every important point of view : geo-political and geo-strategic, historical, cultural, ethnic, social, economic, ideological and religious, above all. Its common elements and unifying factors are many, varied, deep-rooted and strong. The integrative factors of Pakistan are the same as its creative factors. According to Dr. K.K. Aziz they are : ¹

- (i) Historical. (ii) Political. (iii) Religious. (iv) Cultural.
- (v) Psychological.

All these marked out the two major nations of the Indian sub-continent, the Hindus and Muslims, from each other and led to the formulation of the Two Nation Theory and the creation of Pakistan. Of course, there was another vital factor also at

1. *'The Making of Pakistan'*, Pub : Chatto & Windus, London, 1967.

play in the creation of Pakistan, the economic factor, crystallising the economic exploitation of the Muslim by the Hindu. These very factors are at play today, also, to keep Pakistan one and united.

Similarly, all the elements which go to form a nation in political theory, and of national power, not only led to the making of Pakistan, but are today also its integrative constraints and compulsions, notably, a clear-cut, abiding and emphatic community of :

(i) Homeland. (ii) Races and origins. (iii) Languages and literatures. (iv) Culture. (v) Religion. (vi) History, (vii) Economic interests. (viii) Political experience. (ix) The sentiment or spirit of nationalism. (x) Aspirations and ideals.

These, together, form the basic ideology of Pakistan. It is, indeed, quite evident that all the requirements that go to make and preserve a strong, progressive and prosperous nation, have been fulfilled and are met. It must be emphatically reiterated here that historically, geo-politically, socio-culturally, ethnically and religiously, the present Pakistan has : (i) always been distinct and distinguishable, apart and independent from the rest of India ; (ii) and the cradle of ancient cultures and civilizations. Further, 'Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, is situated in the vicinity of Taxila, which has an exceptional importance and a unique place in our history, having been the seat of government of a number of dynasties and also the centre of learning for centuries. In fact, it is around Taxila that the early history of Pakistan revolves. The city is named after a tribe called Taka which lived in the pre-Christian ear..... In known history, Taxila was invariably the capital of Pakistan, whether this region was the province of a large empire or an independent kingdom, as the following brief account will bear out' :

1. "Taxila was capital of Pakistan in 5th century B.C., when it was a province of the Kayani Empire of Iran.
2. "Taxila was capital of Pakistan when it was a province of the Mauryan Empire from about 300 B.C.—200 B.C.
3. "Taxila was the capital of the state comprising of areas between Indus and Jhelum when Alexander attacked Pakistan 325 B.C. Raja Ambhi was the ruler of this State.
4. "Taxila was the capital of the independent state of Pakistan under the Greco-Bactrian rule 200-100 B.C.
5. "Taxila was the capital of independent Pakistan under the Sakas in 100 B.C.—40 A.D.
6. "Taxila was the capital of independent Pakistan during the brief rule of the Parthians in the first century of the Christian era.
7. "Though Taxila was the second capital during the Kushan period (70 A.D.—400 A.D.), it out-shone their capital Peshawar, and was made the centre of art and learning by Emperors Kanishka and Huvishka."

"An important point to be noted in this context is that all the dynasties which had their seat of government here ruled over vast areas spreading beyond the Hindu Kush upto the Oxus in the north-west and down the plains of the Punjab upto the Gangetic Valley in the east. Islamabad-Taxila region has nourished strong powers and nurtured great civilizations which have had long and durable existence."¹

The above quotation elaborates and establishes the two points made by me, just preceding it.

Four Nationalities etc.

It has been analysed and discussed in detail that Pakistan is a well knit and unified single nation and not a weak federation or confederation of centrifugal nationalities loosely strunged together—despite the opinion of some that it is a 'multinational state and ethnographic society' with both 'ethnocentric and geocentric' tendencies at play in it. This is true, with varying degrees, of all federations, which really thrive on the unity within their diversity.

"The national question is beset by three basic contradictions. First, Baluchi speaking people are a minority even inside the territory that Baluchi nationalism in Pakistan claims to be its own. Secondly, more Baluchis live outside this territory than inside it. Thirdly, historically specific features of Baluchi society have inhibited national integration of tribal groupings within Baluchi society itself, with consequent inner fragmentation of culture and historical consciousness of themselves as a single nation. Parenthetically, we should note also that linguistic divergence between the Baluchi and Brahui peoples makes it somewhat difficult for us to consider them apriori a single nation.'.....

'A genuine revolutionary movement in Baluchistan cannot be premised on aspiration of revising borders only . . . Mistaking all separatism as being nationalistic and necessarily progressive amounts to a drastic confusion of realms". 1.

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1. *The National Question In Baluchistan*, by : Aijaz Ahmed. From : *Focus On Baluchistan And the Pushtoon Question*. Ed : Dr. Feroz Ahmed. Pub : People's Publishing House, Lahore, 1975.

"The Pushtoons have in fact gone beyond the stage of feudal nationality—while applying the terminology of Lenin and Stalin to the national question in our region, many leftists seem to think that the substance of the question in our region is also the same as in the cases studied by Lenin and Stalin—As Mario Otero said, 'An error of language has led to an error of policy.'

"The integration of Pakistan, therefore, has definite advantages to the Pushtoon working class, which derives its sustenance in other provinces....The present economic and political intercourse between the Pushtoon areas and the rest of Pakistan, involving all the classes, reinforces the historical, economic and cultural links between the different regions of (West) Pakistan....When a multinational/semicolonial/neocolonial country succeeds in bringing about a People's Democratic Revolution, one of the main dangers it faces is the resurrection of the national question in its old form." ¹

Two more points would seem to be pertinent in the context of the nationalities question. (i) The so-called nationalities of Pakistan are not located in 'clearly demarcated and distinct areas amenable to scientific division on a regional basis.' (ii) Because of historical and constant population migration, the regionalisation of 'nationalities' becomes all the more impossible. This adds to the inherent contradictions of the nationalities issue. Further, population, migration and intermixture is a blessing which should be encouraged, if circumstances permit.

Basic Problem

Even so, the basic problem of understandable parochialism—though NOT of secessionism, remains. How best to solve it ?

1. "Pushtoonistan And the Pushtoon National Question." By : Feroz Ahmed. From : 'Focus on Baluchistan and the Pushtoon Question.'

The Indian and Afghan Solution

This is the road to secessionism and disintegration—through inflated and supra-national regional and provincial autonomy. The simple answer to their subversive propaganda is that what they proclaim to be true of Pakistan is even more true of and applicable to them. They have their own Pandora's boxes of nations and nationalities, language states and provinces ; ethnic groups and cultural factions ; religions and sects, etc.

The Russian Formula

This can be summarised as follows :

1. "Enjoying the Right to Self-Determination."

By : Prof. Khabib Tursunov And Prof. Malik Khakimov (From : The Sputnik Digest of Soviet Press, October, 1974).

"After the victorious October Revolution of 1917, there arose the problem of granting independence to the peoples of Soviet Central Asia....The Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia, which was adopted by the Soviet Government in November 1917, proclaimed the following principles :

- "1. Equality and sovereignty of the Peoples of Russia.
2. The right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination up to and including secession and the formation of an independent state.
3. Abolition of all national and religious privileges and restrictions.
4. Free development of national minorities and ethnic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia."

It must be noted here that nos. 3 and 4 above, especially 3, contradict the first two—with the result that in actual practice the so-called sovereign and independent nations of the Soviet Republics are autonomous in name only and the right to secession is a theoretical paper-right, alone.

“Another major document of the young Soviet state was an Appeal of the Soviet Government ‘To All Working Moslems of Russia and the East’. Reaffirming the right to self-determination, the Soviet government declared: ‘Shape your national life freely and without hindrances. You have the right to this.’”

“National and state development proceeded with a view to solving the vital tasks of the October Revolution—internationalist cohesion of the working people, the struggle against the exploitation of man by man and the building of socialism.”

“An immense role in the formation of non-Russian Soviet republics of Central Asia was played by Lenin. He was keenly aware of the importance of developing the national statehood of the Eastern peoples and of the organisation in Turkestan of several national republics, whose broad outlines had become clear already by 1920. At the same time, considering the complexity of this task, Lenin said that there should be no haste in dividing this land into republics, that the appropriate materials should be carefully prepared so that the question could be solved on the basis of complete self-determination of the working people of each of these nations and nationalities.”

“It was precisely within the framework of these republics that, enjoying the all-round aid of the Russian proletariat, the peoples of Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan began to go over to socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage. The revolutionary changes in the economy, domestic life and

psychology of the Soviet Eastern peoples were a factor in their development into socialist nations and in the formation, at a later stage, of their nationally uniform Soviet socialist republics. The national structure, historical traditions, ways of life and culture of these peoples were fully taken into account.'

"The ways to achieve this, the form and methods of development could not be identical even at one phase of development in economically and politically different national areas.'

"The sovereignty of nations, their **conscious voluntary union** and socialist democracy guaranteed equal rights and opportunities to all republics. Now the country could begin to handle national problems with an eye to the basic interests of the working people of different nationalities.'

"Every year saw the further development of the political, economic and cultural relationships and cooperation of the people's Soviet republics. They all are part of a single whole—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.'

"On achieving self-determination, the peoples of Soviet Central Asia, due to the fraternal assistance of the most developed Soviet republics, effected, within a historically short period, a transition from feudalism to socialism. Lenin's thesis that, aided by the proletariat of advanced countries, backward countries can go over to socialism without passing through the capitalist stage was thus translated into life."

2. Across Soviet Central Asia(—Discovering the Soviet Union).

By : Nikolai Mikhailov.¹

¹ "Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Tajikistan and Kirghizia, which
1. *The Sputnik Digest of Soviet Press, October 1974.*

make up Soviet Central Asia, are celebrating their 50th anniversary as Soviet republics,' (in October, 1974).

"Once these republics were extremely backward outlying parts of Czarist Russia, with industries in embryo, almost complete illiteracy and were under the sway of feudalism or semi-feudalism."

"With the advent of Soviet power, guided by the Leninist Communist Party, the fraternal peoples of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and other republics helped the newly-freed peoples of Soviet Central Asia to overcome their age-old backwardness and rendered them major support in the training of their own personnel as well as in achieving an economic, scientific and cultural upsurge."

"By accelerated industrialisation, agricultural changes based on what is known as the Lenin cooperative plan and a sweeping cultural revolution, Soviet Central Asia has recorded unprecedented gains in Asian history. Within a record period of time it went over from feudalism to socialism, by-passing capitalism. Now, in production growth rates, it has outstripped many developed capitalist countries."

"Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Tajikistan and Kirghizia (alongwith Kazakhstan) in turn have made an invaluable contribution to the progress of the Soviet socialist state."

In brief, the Russian solution to the national or nationalities issue is via their Socialist or Communist ideology. That may be true of or applicable to the Soviets. Apart from the loss of some most important fundamental rights like religion and personal liberty, that it entails, it is neither universal nor suitable or applicable to Pakistan—which has its own geo-political, economic, religious and ideological compulsions, constraints and inspirations. Pakistan has its own distinct ideology, philoso-

phy and way of life to follow. Here we can refer back to the views of Dr. Feroze Ahmad on the Pushtoon question cited earlier, and to Mario Otero's sound pointer that an 'error of language' should not lead to 'an error of policy'. Suffice it to say that Pakistan's particular free and deliberate choice of its own Islamic Ideology is based on and justified by its distinct history, conditions, requirements and the genius and will of its people. This outward-growing and forward-looking ideology replaces the anachronistic and narrow class ridden 'baradari' (clannish kinship) of today's man with a futuristic and expansive, all-pervasive, all-embracing, humanitarian and egalitarian 'baradari' or brotherhood. It brings into play the living socio-political and economic thought of Islam, in the service of humanity. Basically, it is not a question of the confrontation or even competition of today's ideologies but of their peaceful and purposeful co-existence, otherwise confrontation would lead to chaos and even man's annihilation in a nuclear age. We shall turn to that at the end of this chapter and book.

Pakistan and Pan-Islamism

The Muslim world forms a huge land-mass from (West) Africa to the Far East ; from the Atlantic to the Philippines in the Pacific. In the north it touches the Volga in the USSR and in the South it falls in Mozambique, South-East Africa, bordering the Afro-Asian Ocean. Muslims are to be found in China, also. Their total world population is estimated at over 750 million.

The Muslim world is rich in human and natural resources, in agricultural and mineral wealth, in oil and gas. Its geo-strategic location adds to its politico-economic leverage. The pressure tactics of the oil game and petro-dollars are now common knowledge. The Third World, Afro-Asia and the under-devel-

oped/developing countries can benefit tremendously from the Muslim Brotherhood. Pakistan can play and is playing an effective role in this. Only a well-integrated, united strong and progressive nation can play its part successfully in the comity of nations—for universal peace, fraternity and prosperity.

Redeeming Feature

As distinct from India, in the case of the vast majority of Pakistanis, their racial origins can be traced back mainly to : (i) the Sakas ; (ii) the Kushans, (iii) the White Huns and (iv) the Gujars. Hinduism, in spite of its mythical qualities of absorption, assimilation and subjugation, could not influence the advent and fate of Islam in the sub-continent. Despite the alien geographical barrier between its two wings, Pakistan's Muslim Indus Valley and Padma-Meghna Delta have always remained independent of the Hindu Gangetic Valley. Even today, though separated politically, they are a symbol of Islam's defiance of Hindu chauvinism and euphoria and its challenge to Hindu jingoism, militant casteism and militarist expansionism.

That is because of their basic Islamic Ideology and way of life. And not the Soviet solution prescribing the Soviet ideology and psychology and producing the New Soviet Man—inspired not by the capitalist materialistic profit motive but by the socialist materialistic-altruistic motive. Pakistan's inspirations—its Islamic Ideology, Religion and way of life—have their own God-serving and man-loving Muslim individual (Iqbal's 'Murd-e-Momin') and noble motives to follow them. The ideological subversion of Pakistan can be countered by ideological renaissance and motivation and by reinvoking Pakistan's fundamental Ideology. This can best be done by drawing on the basic precepts and principles, lessons and guidance of our history and religion. And by turning for light to the Founders of Pakistan. Pakistan's Ideology has already been highlighted in detail. Now it

can be epitomised in the ideals of its founding fathers and leaders. That is the sanest and safest answer to ideological subversion and insurgency; and that, our instrument and philosophy of 'counter subversion and counter insurgency,' as opined by Toynbee.

Pakistan And Its Founders

The Nature of Pakistan

Pakistan is both an ideal and a reality. The geo-political reality came into being on 14th August, 1947. It got truncated and transmuted in December, 1971, with the creation of Bangla Desh. Its future shape, size and form are for fate to determine and futurologists to tell. And for Pakistan, itself, to try to make. The regional and global powers to influence.

The ideal is much older. Sir Mortimer Wheeler dates it to the archaeological finds of pre-history. Pakistani historians find its seeds in the first Muslim conquest of India. As long as there have been Muslims in this region, they have always felt, behaved and lived as a distinct nation, religion and entity, apart from the other Indians. And they have always aspired for an independent and separate homeland of their own. As time passed, the idea of Pakistan got transformed into a burning ideal, which ultimately emerged in the reality of a sovereign nation-state.

Forms of Pakistan

Pakistan, the physical reality, has evolved through many forms, both on paper and in fact. The letters that spell it are supposed to represent the various provinces that were to comprise it. Chaudhri Rahmat Ali and like-minded political thinkers included the whole of the Punjab, Kashmir, Sindh, Baluchistan and N.W.F.P. in it.

"Chaudhry Rahmat Ali is considered to be the originator of the word Pakistan. It was first used in a four-paged leaflet entitled 'Now or Never', published in January 1933, and signed, besides Rahmat Ali, by three other students in Cambridge. Explaining the composition of the word Pakistan, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali wrote later : ¹

"Pakistan' is both a Persian and an Urdu word. It is composed of letters taken from the names of all our homelands--'Indian' and 'Asian'. That is, Punjab, Afghanistan (North-West Frontier Province), Kashmir, Iran, Sindh (including Kachch and Kathiawar), Tukharistan, Afghanistan and Baluchistan. It means the lands of the Paks—the spiritually pure and clean. It symbolizes the religious beliefs and the ethnical stocks of our people ; and it stands for all the territorial constituents of our original Fatherland. It has no other origin and no other meaning ; and it does not admit of any other interpretation." ²

At one time Bengal was not mentioned. At another, the whole of it was considered. The terms 'state' and 'states', 'contiguous areas', majority areas etc. have been debated hotly, not only before partition, but after it, too, especially during and after the East Pakistan crisis. The Lahore Resolution has been the subject of much disputation. Was Pakistan intended to be a federation or even a confederation of (independent) states ? Some predict moves for a greater Punjab, a greater N.W.F.P. (and Sind ?) and greater Baluchistan—within Pakistan—in the future—and even a reunification of the two wings of the country in some form or other.

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1. *Pakistan : The Formative Phase*. By : Khalid Bin Sayeed. Pub : Oxford, Pak., 1969.
 2. Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, 'Pakistan, the Fatherland of the Pak Nation', London ; *The Pak National Liberation Movement*, 1947, p. 225.

Causes of Pakistan

Scholars like Dr. K.K. Aziz ¹ and Dr. Waheed-Uz Zaman ² have listed and discussed a number of factors responsible for the creation of Pakistan. But they all spring from the basic fact and cause of the distinct national and religious entity of the Muslims of India ; and are the result of the inherent friction and firmentation between them and the Hindus, in the sub-continental cauldron and firmament. The main causes, as stated earlier also, are :

- (i) Religious. (ii) Cultural. (iii) Psychological.
- (iv) Historical. (v) Political. (vi) Economic.

The colonial, exploitative, divide-and-rule policy of the British and the hegemonical, inimical attitude and economic domination and exploitation of the Hindus, apparent in all the above-mentioned major sectors and walks of life, made Pakistan inevitable.

The Ideal

Whatever the past, present or future geographical shape and political form of Pakistan, its essence and spirit, idea, objective and ideal is identified and synonymous with the Muslim religion and Muslim nation of this region. It will exist and remain intact as long as the nation and its spirit to survive independently, exists. If this spirit is threatened or thwarted in one form or direction, it will manifest itself in another. For such is the nature of ideals. They may go underground temporarily. But they don't get crushed to extinction by suppression, if there is any life and spirit in them. That is why the form of Pakistan

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1. *The Making of Pakistan.*
 2. *Towards Pakistan.*

may change with unavoidable detours, historical compulsions and political pressures in its cut-throat struggle for survival - perhaps along with an attempted reinterpretation of its ideal. But the ideal itself is extant.

The physical contours, political map and historical boundaries of this South Asian region have changed time and again. That is why it has been known as a sub-continent rather than a country. And they may change yet again.

The hope for Pakistan's survival and continuity rests in this very historical fact and geo-political inevitability of the region, the inborn resilience of ideas and ideals and the invincible spirit of national identity and independence of the Muslims of the area.

The Fact of Pakistan

This is both its ideal and its geo-political reality. Both have influenced each other in the past—and will continue to. They will determine the strategy of our basic instinct of survival, and the tactics and means that this strategy will employ. The nature and fact of Pakistan manifests itself in :

(i) Its Ideology ;

And

(ii) Its physical or geo-political shape, form and reality.

All, together, will affect and determine the methodology of its struggle for survival as a sovereign entity.

The Definition of Pakistan

Likewise, this will be determined by the above facts and

factors. As such, it may be possible to describe it. But it is difficult to be defined.

Pakistan's Leadership

Pakistan's leadership—before and after partition—can be classified into two broad categories : (i) The former or pre-partition leadership can be termed as the genuine and dedicated Makers or Creators of Pakistan ; and (ii) generally speaking, the post-partition tinkers—the self-seeking ideology 'walas', ideology-makers, ideologists and ideologues. Both groups have shaped and influenced the ideology of Pakistan as well as its contours, frontiers and size. The former for its good, the latter, alas often for ill, till 1971. Any study of the Ideology of Pakistan would not be complete without assessing and analysing their role. Let us turn to each group, one by one, as briefly as possible.

The Creators of Pakistan

The Pakistan Movement has an impressive galaxy of luminaries, right from the beginning. But the most outstanding by far, in the chronological order, are Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, (1817-1898), Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) and the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948). They are the founding fathers of Pakistan, its creators and master makers. Sir Syed was the precursor of Muslim Renaissance and Islamic Revivalism in the Indian sub-continent. He was a realist par excellence ; and came to grips squarely with the historical facts and situation of those days. Allama Iqbal was the poet-philosopher and dreamer of Pakistan. The Quaid was its lawyer-politician, advocate, supreme and universally popular leader and chief architect. Let us try to epitomise their political ideas and creeds, below, and to highlight their bearing on Pakistan's ideology.

The Political Creed of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898).

"Before Iqbal, there were, broadly speaking, two streams of thought :

- (1) "Sir Syed's group, which interpreted Islam as an ethical guide and moral code but consciously or unconsciously, gave it a place in the polity or secular principles ;
- (2) "The orthodox and religious groups which maintained that Islam was a polity but thought about Islam as a religion and wanted to apply religious dogmas for the solution of socio-political problems.'

"The first group favoured contemporary British culture while reviving the memories of a glorious past Islamic culture. The second group wanted to recreate the old Islamic society. Since both groups based their case upon Islam, the Muslims in India were divided and united for the same reason. There was a climate of confusion. A reconciliation and synthesis of the two attitudes was an urgent need. Not only did Iqbal provide the keystone on which the ideological arch of Pakistan hinges, one side of which consists of Ulema'! (not ulemas, as given in the book, by the way, and the other, of completely westernised people with a secular outlook, but he was also in favour of a new culture.'

"Sir Syed (1817-1898) had maintained that Islam was not inimical to liberal progress. (Syed) Amir Ali (1849-1928) presented an Islam that is that progress. Iqbal (1877-1938) conceived of Islam as an ideology for a new civilisation.'

"Iqbal's position is also central as he represents the best, and occasionally also the worst, in the ideology of Pakistan".¹

1. Arif Hussain : *Pakistan, Its Ideology and Foreign Policy*.
Pub : Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., London, U.K., 1966,

Though Mr. Arif Hussain's broad classification of the two streams of thought is correct, he tends to make sweeping statements and generalisations, without assigning any convincing reasons. What he terms as a 'climate of confusion' in and after the mid-nineteenth century Indian Muslim thinking was, in fact, the normal, usual and healthy contending of ideas on revivalism in an intellectually reawakening society. Similarly, his last remark about Allama Iqbal's position vis-a-vis the ideology of Pakistan is without any basis.

"There can be no denying that Indian Muslims had travelled a long way. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan made them conscious of their separate existence . . . He exhorted the Muslims to wake up from their slumber ; criticised them for their backwardness ; he shamed them for their obscurantism ; he instilled loyalty to the British into their thinking. The Muslims were awakened by his efforts but they were not humoured . . . He was thus, essentially, a Muslim social reformer and an educationist." ¹

The Indian War of Independence of 1857 was almost the final blow to the Muslim power in India. The British put the entire blame on them ; and initiated a policy of reprisals extending over decades. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan started his career in these gloomy and challenging circumstances. His sole aim was to lift the Muslims out of this tragic situation and put them on the path to progress. This he tried to achieve first by attempting to co-exist peacefully with the Hindus, then through detente and dialogue with the British, and always through educational and constitutional means. He firmly believed that the political plight of Muslims could improve only through sound, western and modern education and through intellectual emancipation and true liberalism.

1. *Dr. Saleem M.M. Qureshi : Jinnah and the Making of a Nation.*

Thus Sir Syed was a great realist. He goaded the Muslims to accept the reality of the British 'raj' and face manfully that of Hindu domination, competition and exploitation. He was convinced that opposing the British would further invite their vengeance and spell the ruination of the Muslims. Sir Syed wanted the Muslims to wake up from the slumber of their glorious past and march with the times.

To begin with, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan lay low and watched the goings-on of the Indian National Congress, silently. When he was convinced that its motivation and machinations were wilfully contrived against the Muslims, he rose to give them the lead, educationally and politically; forcefully opposing their joining it.

As a start, Sir Syed made the Muslims fully conscious of their distinct and separate identity as a nation, culture and religion. He warned them against the Hindu intrigues and urged them to stay away from the Congress. Advising them to get along with the British; he motivated them to demand their political rights constitutionally and peacefully, through a viable socio-educational (and political) organisation. He insisted on separate electorates for the Muslims, in order to safeguard their rights against the Hindu majority domination.

Sir Syed's Main Achievements are listed below :

- (i) He was the father of modern Muslim revivalism in India.
- (ii) From a slothful, slumbering, defeatist and anachronistic scatter-race, with his Aligarh Educational Movement,

he galvanised the Muslims into an educationally progressive and politically wide-awake, conscious, alert and active community.

(iii) His political creed was based on :

(a) Realism.

(b) Modernism.

(c) Muslim renaissance, nationhood and independence.

(iv) Sir Syed was convinced that the Muslims could never be dominated by anyone, Hindu or British. That the British would quit India one day. That thereafter, the Hindus and Muslims would not be able to co-exist peacefully, and they will have to part company.

(v) Thus, Sir Syed had a clear vision of the destiny of the Indian Muslims. If he did not or could not name or pinpoint it, that was perhaps because the times were not ripe enough politically for such an overt demand for a separate homeland. But he not only foresaw the future trends, he also paved the way for them. He was, thus, the fore-runner of Allama Iqbal and others.

(iv) By putting forth the claim for separate electorates, weightage, quotas, considerations and concessions for the Muslims, he tried to protect their rights, entity and identity as a distinct nation and an effective minority. At the same time, he firmly believed in Hindu-Muslim unity and peaceful co-existence, and tried his very best for them. Thus, Sir Syed was the first of the separatists and the forefather of the Two Nation Theory.

The Political Philosophy of Iqbal (1877-1938).

His "writings indicate that the Quran was the basis of Iqbal's thought, that his message was directed to the younger generation of Muslims, and that his ideals are still to be implemented . . . Iqbal's primary interest was the realisation of Muslim unity . . . Iqbal was opposed to western capitalist, nationalist and secular democratic order, imperialism as well as colonialism . . . It is established from Iqbal's writings that he regarded both the capitalist and socialist structures of economy as defective and unsuitable . . . Iqbal regards the Quran as a message for revolution . . . Believes in **Islamic Democracy** . . . the implementation of a balanced social order based on fundamental rights which ensures that no one can exploit another." . . . ¹

The above, summarily, are some of the general social and political ideas of Iqbal which form the back-drop to his political ideals in relation to the ideology of Pakistan and his role as a practical politician therein.

"Iqbal was primarily a thinker, a poet and an idealist Though he first started as an Indian nationalist, later completely changed and became an Islamist . . . He became completely opposed to nationalism of any kind, for he assigned to it the blame for all the sufferings of mankind and found nationalism irreconcilable with Islam. The only evidence of Iqbal the Muslim nationalist are his **1930 presidential address and his letters to Jinnah** written during the **dusk of his life** He criticised them for their inertia, backwardness and superstition, and though, like Syed Ahmad Khan he talked of Muslims as a separate nation, he did little for them to achieve their goal".²

1. *Social Ideas of Iqbal*, by Dr. Javid Iqbal : from his : "*Ideology of Pakistan*".
2. *Saleem M. M. Qureshi*.

What Dr. Qureshi terms as the 'only evidence' is the most meaningful, mature and substantial evidence of Iqbal's Muslim/ Islamic/Pakistani nationalism.

"He did little for them to achieve their goal". This is a shocking and unfair misstatement and generalisation. That is the common fallacy that even some of our (western-oriented) scholars and intellectuals commit, about both Sir Syed and Allama Iqbal. First they distinguish and draw them apart from 'practical or pure politicians'. And then they criticise them for not being that—and for being themselves. Both of them were political-educators. And their main achievement was in that field. They are the fathers of Muslim revivalism and Islamic renaissance in the 19th and 20th century. They roused the slumbering Indian Muslims, made them politically wide-awake and fully conscious of their rights and place in the sun. They made them aware of their goal and mindful of their role in it. Both Sir Syed and Iqbal showed them the way to national self-determination and liberty. They were the first emancipators of the mind and liberators of the spirit. The first torch bearers and beacons of hope and guidance. They prepared the way for Jinnah, the Freedom Movement and the Muslim League. And yet we have the gumption to suggest that 'they did little for the Indian Muslims to achieve their goal'. What else could have been done in those times and under those circumstances? They made them aware of their goal and showed them the way to it !

Iqbal's Role in Indian Politics

The Quaid's comments on this are :

"Iqbal was a remarkable poet of world wide fame and his work will live for ever. His services to his country and the Muslims are so numerous that his record can be compared with that of the greatest Indian that ever lived...although a great poet and philosopher, he was no less a practical politician. With his firm conviction and faith in the ideals of Islam, he was one

of the few who originally thought over the feasibility of carving out of India an Islamic State, in the North-West and North-East Zones which are historical homelands of Muslims."¹

"Iqbal was not a professional politician but at certain stages of his life, he showed a keen interest in the politics of the sub-continent. Even in this area, he handled many complex problems with remarkable insight and left a permanent mark on the events which moulded the destiny of the millions. His participation in the political issues of the day was based on sincerity and conviction. He cherished peace and order more than anything else in life.'.....

"His primary concern was to see that the religio-cultural entity of the Muslims of the sub-continent was not damaged. In a statement he pointed out :

"In so far as India is concerned, I can say with perfect confidence that the Muslims of India will not submit to any kind of idealism which would seek to annihilate their cultural entity".²

"The spirit of the utterance formed the essence of his views on practical politics.'....

"Although it was during his later years that Iqbal became involved with practical politics, even early in his life he did not hesitate to participate in movements which were meant to safeguard the political rights of the Muslim community."³

Iqbal was studying abroad in Europe from 1905 to 1908. In 1906 Syed Ameer Ali organised a committee in Great Britain to

1. *"The Political Philosophy of Iqbal"* by Dr. Parveen Feroze Hassan, p. 314, 1970 edition.
2. *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal.*
3. *Dr. Parveen Feroze Hassan.*

portray the Indian political scene to the British and to convince them of the Muslim thinking. Iqbal became an active member of this organisation. In 1908, when the All-India Muslim League started its branch in London, with Syed Ameer Ali as its President, Iqbal became a spirited member of its committee, also. On return home he got closely associated with the Punjab Muslim League which, though it preceded the All-India Muslim League (created in 1906), got affiliated with it soon after. To begin with, Iqbal tried to steer clear of active and party politics. But from 1925 he got more and more involved in them; and extended a healthy influence to various Muslim political parties, in which he held important offices.

The Indian Muslim leadership got badly divided during the late 1920s. It was then that the All-India Muslim Conference emerged. Mr. Jinnah went abroad, disillusioned. Iqbal got closely associated with the Conference for long. He served to become its President. By the beginning of the 1930s, 'Iqbal had entered the front rank politicians of the Muslim community'. In 1926 Iqbal was elected from Lahore as a member of the Punjab Provincial Legislative Council; and played a leading role in its deliberations and decisions, in favour of : (i) the common man; (ii) his own religious community; and (iii) communal peace.

Iqbal's Role in the Genesis of Pakistan

By 1930, Iqbal was an established Muslim political leader. So much so, that he was requested to preside over the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League. He delivered his historic address at Allahabad on 29th Dec., 1930, which is regarded as 'unquestionably one of the most significant documents of the modern history of Islam'.¹ Here it would be useful to recall his famous statement :

1. *Dr. P.F. Hassan.*

The Allahabad Address (1930) :

"I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India".¹

The Round Table Conference (1930-32) :

Among the other most historic events of the early 1930s were the three Round Table Conferences at London, arranged by the British Government to work towards the solution of the Indian constitutional and political problem. Iqbal participated in the last two of these, as an outspoken, dedicated and courageous representative of the Muslims. But unfortunately, the intransigence, evasion and non-committal stance of the Hindus, disappointed Iqbal and the Muslims generally. He was convinced that given the Hindu stubborn attitude, no settlement of the Indian problem was possible. The responsibility lay largely with the majority community. But it became more and more bigoted and intolerant because of its numerical superiority. He urged the Muslims to get united under the banner of a single party and a unified leadership, to fight the British and defeat the Hindus politically.

Iqbal-Jinnah Correspondence (1936-37) :

Iqbal corresponded with Jinnah on the then prevalent political situation from May, 1936 to November, 1937. This correspondence is of tremendous historical importance and is epoch-making. Even the Quaid himself acknowledged its significance in unreserved tributes to Iqbal, thus :

"His views were substantially in consonance with my own and have finally led me to the same conclusion as a result of

careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India, and found expression in due course in the **united will of Muslim India** as adumbrated in the **Lahore Resolution** of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution passed on 23rd March, 1940”¹.

“Iqbal was confident that if Jinnah could be persuaded to accept the scheme’ —to : (i) make the Muslim League truly representative of the Muslim masses and not just their classes, and (ii) to ‘redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with resolute majorities’—the political destiny of the Muslim would be in safe hands”².

In a letter dated 21st June, 1937, addressed to the Quaid-e-Azam, Allama Iqbal wrote :

“You are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North West India and perhaps to the whole of India”. As time passed, the reality of the separate identity of the two Indian communities, Hindu and Muslim, and their utter inability to coexist peacefully within one country, grew on Iqbal more and more. Thus the urgent and impelling need for a separate and independent Muslim homeland got fixed in all the (political) writings, utterances and life of Iqbal, increasingly.

The Muslim League was in the blues from 1931 to 1934. By 1935 Iqbal was convinced that the All-India Muslim League was not only truly representative of the Muslims, it was the only political party which could unite them and safeguard their rights and interests.

Iqbal's Political Contribution and Achievement

These can be listed below :

1. *Speeches And Statements of Iqbal.*
2. *Dr. P. F. Hassan.*

- (i) He was the poet, dreamer and visionary of Pakistan.
- (ii) He was the friend, philosopher, seer, sage and guide—both of the masses and the Muslim leadership. He roused the Muslims from slumber to progressive thinking and political activity, leading to freedom and Pakistan.
- (iii) Iqbal urged the Muslims to get united under the banner of one party and a single and singular leadership.
- (iv) In practical politics, he was the protector of the rights and interests of the Muslims and the promoter of communal peace.
- (v) In party politics, Iqbal was a great unifier, negotiator and adviser. He gave much strength and support to the idea of a single representative Muslim party and to establish the Muslim League, as such.
- (vi) He was a constant political adviser, guide and inspirer to the Quaid-e-Azam ; and helped to build up his unquestioned and universally popular leadership.
- (vii) Iqbal not only dreamt and conceived of Pakistan, he actually helped to achieve it. He was, thus, both a poet and political thinker, and a practical politician.
- (viii) Iqbal not only liberated the anachronistic minds and emancipated the decadent spirits of the Muslims, with his revival and reinterpretation of the Islamic faith, he also provided the vision of Pakistan and gave it an ideology, creed and system. For he preached the Islamic ideology, way of life, socio-political and economic system and concept of state. He believed in Islamic

Socialism, Islamic Secularism, Islamic Democracy and the Islamic Welfare State.

Jinnah and the Making of Pakistan

"Unlike Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Iqbal, Jinnah was concerned neither with religion or philosophy, nor with mysticism or poetry. He was neither a social reformer nor an educationist ; was neither a pan-Islamist nor was Islam his patria. Jinnah was essentially a politician—"a pure politician" according to Prof. Humayum Kabir and an ardent nationalist, but he was primarily a Muslim nationalist and never a nationalist Muslim. His political career spanned almost one half century and thus he was in the thick of Indian politics before many in India had heard of Gandhi or of his non-violent non-cooperation, or before Nehru had learned the meaning of politics. He was already a famous and front-rank Indian politician—a 'giant of politics', as Edwin Montagu called him on his 1917 trip to India.¹ As early as 1910, when he was first elected to the Imperial Legislative Council, Jinnah had become known as a dauntless nationalist who would not be intimidated even by a Viceroy of India and was ready to cross swords with him", according to Hector Bolitho."²

Dr. Saleem M. M. Qureshi, to begin with, has stated above that "Jinnah was concerned neither with religion or philosophy" ; and that he was not an educationist or social reformer. The latter, especially, is not quite correct, though it may not be true, literally or formally. All great leaders at that time were concerned with the total uplift and full progress and development of their people—social, educational, political and econo-

1. *An Indian Diary*

2. *Saleem M. M. Qureshi : "Jinnah And the Making of a Nation,*

mic. The Muslim leaders, especially, were most concerned with the political resurgence and education of their masses. They were rightly convinced that because of the cut-throat competition with the materially, educationally and numerically far more advanced and strong Hindus, no progress was possible without education. Therefore political consciousness and social awakening for them went hand in hand with sound general or formal education. But while Sir Syed was a liberal educator, Jinnah was a political one. The former brought about social conscious, the latter, political consciousness—both on a massive and people's scale.

Secondly, Jinnah was formally concerned neither with religion nor with philosophy—not because he did not believe in them—but simply because he accepted them fully and unquestionably. It is strange that Sir Syed should be criticised by some for being an educator and educational reformer, Iqbal, for being a poet-philosopher and Jinnah for not being these ! Why can't people—even leaders—be accepted for what they really are ? Why must they be expected to be everything and play every role ? The fact remains that all of them were political leaders of people, besides being educators, intellectuals, lawyers, journalists, poet (s), philosophers or whatever else one, two or all actually were.

Iqbal and Jinnah both, never questioned the relevance of Sir Syed to his times. They also accepted and respected him as their own leader and fore-runner. Similarly, Iqbal accepted Jinnah as his own as well as the undisputed, one and only true political leader of the Indian Muslims. Likewise, Jinnah respected Iqbal as the poet, philosopher and visionary of Pakistan and his own political counsel, friend and associate. The Quaid relied completely on the Islamic Ideology for his view of the future polity of the Muslims and his vision of the independent nation-state of Pakistan. He accepted and endorsed Iqbal's

Socialism, Islamic interpretation of the Islamic state. He, too, believed in Islamic Socialism, Islamic Secularism, Islamic Democracy and the Islamic Welfare State; and relied completely on the Quran and Sunnah for guidance. The Holy Prophet Muhammad of Islam (may eternal peace be upon him !) was, for him, the supreme awgiver, leader, guide and democrat.

It was this complete mutual understanding, agreement and 'division of labour', as it were, between Iqbal and Jinnah, on the religious and secular, ideological and practical political planes, which gave the Muslims the unified, devoted and seasoned leadership they needed, and made Pakistan possible.

According to Dr. M. M. Qureshi, "In his politics, Jinnah was a liberal and a constitutionalist. He perceived politics as a game played in accordance with the rules and by those who know and understand the rules . . . Of all the Indian politicians, perhaps of all times, Jinnah had the sharpest eye—and also the sharpest, and when he chose, the most stinging tongue . . . Pakistan, to Jinnah, symbolised the emancipation of the Muslim community from Hindu domination, so that it could develop and practise its distinct way of life . . . Jinnah's contribution to Muslim nationalism may best be summarised in his own words. He said that the Muslim League, by uniting Muslims under its banner, "Has raised the Muslims of India to a dignity ; it has raised the Muslims of India to have an honourable place in the affairs of this country. It has created among Muslim rank and file, a spirit of discipline. It has given the Muslims the most wanted self-respect and self-reliance. It has given Muslim India a correct picture mirrored before you, a correct perspective of the grave issues which are affecting the Muslim nation today."

The Quaid's View of Pakistan :

What Mr. Jinnah said of the Muslim League is actually far more applicable to and true of the Quaid-e-Azam, himself.

The Basis : Spiritual and Ethical :

"We demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, we achieved it, so that physically as well as spiritually we are free to conduct our affairs according to our traditions and genius. Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man—these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization."⁽¹⁾

Poor Man's Democracy :

"Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists.....They have forgotten the lessons of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people to subordinate the interests of others to fatten themselves.....Do you visualise that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day? If that is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it.".....⁽²⁾

The People's Pakistan :

"Politically, Pakistan would be a democracy.....This would be a Muslim State.....There would be no special barriers.....The Musalmans are a people who believe in and act on the basic principle of equality of manhood and fraternity."⁽³⁾

Economic Democracy :

"While avoiding to influence government policy and planning, the Quaid, in his personal capacity hoped that Pakistan's

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1. *The Quaid's Public Speech at Chittagong, 26th March, 1948.*
 2. *The Quaid's Address to the Delhi Session of the All India Muslim League, 24th April, 1943.*
 3. *The Quaid's A.P.A. Interview : 8th November, 1945.*

'Major industrial and public utility services would be socialised In these modern days essential key industries ought to be controlled and managed by the state. That applies also to certain public utilities. But what is a key industry and what is a utility service, are matters for the law-makers to say, not for me.'⁽¹⁾

Islamic Democracy :

"The Quaid-e-Azam had a complete concept of how things should shape themselves in Pakistan, in order that it may develop into a truly **Muslim democracy**'.

Welfare State :

"That the Quaid-e-Azam envisaged Pakistan as a **welfare state** in the right **Islamic spirit**, is beyond a shadow of doubt. Addressing the Constituent Assembly (of Pakistan) on 11th August, 1947, he said : "Now, if we want to make this great state of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor.".....Again and again he expressed the belief that Pakistan would function in the **Islamic spirit** of equality, brotherhood and social justice'.....

International Peace :

"The Quaid-e-Azam was a great champion of the cause of peace and international amity'. Thus :

"Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world."⁽²⁾

1. *Dio. A P A. Interview : 8th November, 1945.*

2. *Broadcast Talk to the USA: Feb., 1948.*

Islamic Ideology :

"The Quaid-e-Azam had deep and abiding faith in the efficacy of Islamic principles for the guidance and regulation of all affairs of life—individual and collective—in modern times. It was his conviction that the Muslims had a complete and effective ideology of their own and could steer clear of the pitfalls of all extremist systems—capitalism, on the one hand and communism, on the other. He believed that if the Muslims of Pakistan correctly interpreted and exemplified by deed rather than words, the teachings of Islam, they could show to the world the much-needed path to peace, justice and happiness. In fact he considered this to be the main mission of Pakistan."⁽¹⁾

"We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him). We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in rights, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake : Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds and we welcome in close association with us all those, who, of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan."⁽²⁾

"Everyone except those who are ignorant, knows that the Quran is the general code of the Muslims. A religious, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, criminal, penal code, it regulates everything from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life; from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body; from the rights of all to those of each individual; from morality to crime; from punishment here to that in the life to come; and our Prophet has enjoined on us that every Musalman

1. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad : *"Glimpses of Quaid-e-Azam."*

2. *The Quaid's Broadcast to Australia, 19th February, 1948.*

should possess a copy of the Quran and be his own priest..... Therefore, Islam is not merely confined to the spiritual tenets and doctrines of rituals and ceremonies. It is a complete code regulating the whole Muslim society, every department of life, collectively and individually.”⁽¹⁾

The Future :

“Nature has given you everything: You have got unlimited resources. The foundations of your state have been laid, and it is now for you to build and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you God-speed!”⁽²⁾

Saleem M.M. Qureshi had written, ‘Islam was not Jinnah’s patria’ and that he was not concerned with religion or philosophy.

The foregoing passages amply disprove this ‘verdict’. For Jinnah was completely dedicated to the Islamic Ideology and to Islam as a religion, philosophy and complete code and way of life.

Pakistan’s ‘Ideology Makers’ :

The Quaid created Pakistan on 14th August, 1947; and died on 11th September, 1948. That was the most major and prolonged set-back to the Ideology of Pakistan. At the slyly indifferent, negligent, deafant hands of its post-partition ideology makers, ideologues and ideologists (—so-called). The makers of Pakistan were succeeded by its ‘ideology makers’. Without even naming them, they can be generalised into three broad categories :

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1. *The Quaid’s Eid Message, 1945.*
 2. *The Quaid’s Last Independence Day Message, 1948.*

- (i) The lip-professors and exploiters of the ideology, in the name of Islam and Pakistan.
- (ii) The hesitant coiners of a hybrid, experimental policy—the Basic Democracies System, etc.
- (iii) The blindly bold protagonists of a reinterpreted, compromise system—Islamic Socialism.

The first marked the first decade of Pakistan, the second, its next ten years, and the third came in with its third decade. The first were opportunists, the second, grabbers, the third have been described as 'political adventurers' by some. The first two are dead and gone and ancient history now. Though their well-known misdeeds are still casting their long, pernicious shadows on the nation. The last were holding sway till recently, followed (in 1977) by a new-old collective of Islamist politicians. Both for this reason and for the nature of their political outlook and views, they (—the last two—) alone, are perhaps, worth mentioning.

This must, however be preceded with the pointer that even the Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Iqbal did not venture to tinker with the Islamic Ideology but accepted and propagated it wholeheartedly as it is—and as Pakistan's Ideology—progressively and democratically, liberally and emancipately.

In so far as it was a response to the crying need of the times and belived to be an honest attempt at reinterpreting Pakistan's basic ideology, Islamic Socialism was welcomed as 'the in-thing', and hailed as the 'panacea'. But within a few years, especially after it entered the realm of practical politics, from the initial stage of promises and pledges, it disproved and debunked itself and disillusioned the people—most unfortunately and tragically. To the extent that it roused the masses, made them politically conscious and wide-awake and liberated them from the shackles

of the previous regimes, it deserves credit. Let it have the benefit of doubt and appreciation for good intentions, the courage of its convictions and for bringing about the people's revolution. But like the Muslim League after independence, the P.P.P. had also degenerated speedily after coming into power. Today in 1978-79 it is, once again, a menacing potential and a power to be reckoned with—in all its forms and manifestations—as Bhutto, Bhuttoism and Bhuttoites.

Islamic Democracy—Islamic Socialism :

The foregoing is so obvious that it does not really have to be proved or even discussed. Suffice it to say that Islamic Socialism had been spurned (or at least questioned) by all the major political systems—the rightist Muslims, the democratic west and the scientific socialists—as misadventurism with these ideologies. That challenge/set-back called for not just grass-roots party reorganisation, but a reinterpretation of the entire ideology of the party and a recasting of its strategy. Its salvation lay in getting as close back to the original Islamic Ideology of Pakistan, as was possible—to the Ideology of Allama Iqbal and the Quaid-e-Azam. The P.P.P. was up against the wall. And so was the nation. In 1977. As the ruling party, the nation's future was intimately inter-linked with it. The two might have, God forbid, sunk or sailed together. If not for its own survival, much more for the country's sake, the party owed it to the nation to refurbish itself in the light of Pakistan's ideological motivation and heritage.⁽¹⁾ As long as Islam remains the living religion and faith of the masses of Pakistan,

1. Ref: Ikram Azam's :

- (i) *Pakistan's Security and National Integration*. London Book Co. Rawalpindi (Cantt., 1974)
- (ii) *Pakistan; Yesterday, Today And Tomorrow*. Student Services, Lahore, (1976.)

there is just to escape from its basic ideology. For it is the single most common and integrative force in Pakistan. The realists and leaders of Pakistan might as well have accepted this fundamental and inescapable reality, also, with grace and candour.

If they do so now or/and in future, they will have the good fortune to emerge as the saviours and makers of Pakistan, in the tradition of its dreamers and visionaries, creators and architects. History has now blessed them with this great opportunity. Islam has been, undoubtedly, much abused in this country, in the past. But it has never been given an honest try. Even now it is not too late. Let us desist from making a plaything of ideologies. They cannot breed or be littered frequently like mice and rabbits. The secret of our success lies in trying to implement our traditional National Ideology honestly, instead of running after fancy phrases, cliches and catch words. "Islamic Socialism" would have been better off had it been interpreted in terms of Islamic Democracy, Islamic Secularism, Islamic Economics, the Islamic Welfare State and other fundamental and all-pervasive principles of the Islamic Ideology.⁽¹⁾ That is the bitter lesson both of the Bangla Desh and of the Bhutto tragedies.

Mr. Wali Khan on the Islamic Ideology :

And what is this Islamic Ideology? In apparently trying to answer this question, Khan Abdul Wali Khan only managed to confuse the issue in his Written Statement (of 13-6-75) submitted to the Supreme Court of Pakistan in connection with Reference No. 1 of 1975, involving the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Versus Khan Abdul Wali Khan, concerning the case banning the N.A.P (National Awami Party). In the last section of this statement on the "Ideology of Pakistan", prior to the

“Conclusion,” he queried : “We have to start with Pakistan first—that is to say, the ideology of **which** Pakistan?” And he goes on to say: “Thus we see that there were four concepts of Pakistan before independence and two after independence—and therefore the moment we go to the next point about the ideology of Pakistan, the basic and fundamental question asked is—the ideology of **which** Pakistan? Because there will surely be different ideologies for the different concepts.”

It is imperative here to point out that there were not just four or six ‘concepts’ of Pakistan but many more—so far as the details go. Details of geo-politics, geography and topography, frontiers and boundaries; approach and methodology; tactics and strategy; timings, schedules and programming. The relevant details are available in any good book on the subject, e.g. “Pakistan : The Formative Phase” (1857-1948) by Khalid Bin Sayeed; and “Muslim Separatism In India” by Abdul Hamid. (Both Oxford of Pakistan Publications). Or “Towards Pakistan” by Dr. Waheed-uz-Zaman and “The Making of Pakistan” by Dr. K.K. Aziz. But Islam—the basic inspirational and unifying ideology of all these concepts, including that of the Pakistan of yesterday, today and tomorrow, remained and is essentially the same. Mr. Wali Khan committed a fundamental fallacy of logic when he said, “Because there will surely be different ideologies for the different concepts.” Just because the physical contours of a concept vary with time or circumstances, it does not necessarily follow that its motivational ideology will also vary, likewise. This might be true of “Pukhtoonistan” but not of Pakistan. For while the former is a myth, the latter is a reality. In fact, there has always been just one ‘concept’ (—and not many), of Pakistan, for its basic concept has remained the same and constant. Its physical manifestations have, of course, evolved with history.

A like fallacy is also committed when some critics tend to suggest or even accuse that the Quaid-e-Azam had made a fundamental compromise of principles in accepting the Cabinet Mission Plan. Let us not forget that right from the turn of this century, the British had agreed on an ultimate transfer of power to the Hindus and Muslims of India through gradual home rule and representative government by the 'natives' in a phased manner. Acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan was, therefore, just a matter of political strategy and tactics. Through the zonal and grouping schemes, etc., the objective was to attain full and complete autonomy for Pakistan, in five to ten years. Further, the Quaid-e-Azam, knowing the Hindu mind and reactions fully, could foresee and forestall the Congressites. He could well anticipate that they will not accept the plan, ultimately. One of his intentions was to show them up in their true colours. He also declared more than once that he had no other choice. It was a question of 'now or never', 'take it or leave it as it is'—the 'truncated and moth-eaten Pakistan'—which was far from his dreams and aspirations. For his was a practical approach of a realist—and the tentative acceptance of the Cabinet Mission plan was only a phased step towards independence. Further, the Quaid-e-Azam knew that he was dying, so he had to make the best of a bad bargain.

The point is that the physical concepts of Pakistan might have—and indeed, did—vary with time and circumstance. But its essentially Islamic Ideology, inspiration and ideal, spirit and content remained constant.

Mr. Wali Khan, in his statement under reference, depending on a few quotations from the Quaid, taken out of their context, to suit his requirements, has tried to suggest that Pakistan's Ideology—or at least the Quaid's—was entirely secular. Others have different views on it. The fact is that Pakistan's Ideology is neither completely religious (theocratic) nor secular (areligious).

It is both—religious and secular—and much more besides. Nothing narrow or restrictive could have suited a Muslim polity. For Pakistan's Ideology is not only Islamic—it is, in fact, Islam itself—the complete way of life and code of wholesome, socio-political and economic living. And because it is Islam, it could not have changed with the varying physical concepts of Pakistan—which today is not what it was yesterday—and may yet be different tomorrow. That is why the Two Nation Theory is only a part, aspect and expression of Pakistan's Ideology. It emphasised the distinct, divergent and irreconcilable nature of India's major Hindu and Muslim nations, and urged for a separate and entirely sovereign home-land or nation-state for each of them. But the sole inspiration was Islam and Islam, alone—of—whether it is Pakistan, itself—or Allama Iqbal's consolidated "North West Indian Muslim State" (of his 1930 address to the All-India Muslim League Session, Allahabad)—or the Lahore/Pakistan Resolution of 1940. Mr Wali Khan had italicised the term 'Indian' in his statement under discussion—perhaps to emphasise the point of the changing geographical patterns of Pakistan, as they evolved through history. No one has disputed this historical fact. But how else could the North-West of India have been then described? Surely not as the North West of Europe or Africa! The use of the term 'Indian' is an acknowledgement of a geographical reality and not (necessarily) a political goal—at **that** time in history.

Suffice it to sum up, then, that Pakistan's Ideology is Islam, itself. With such a broad and universal base to build-up upon, Pakistan has deep roots, strong foundations and viable moorings. To put all disputations at rest, (once and for all), it would seem necessary to appoint a national commission of the wise and learned of Pakistan, charged with the duty to define, describe and delimit the Ideology of Pakistan—not just philosophically and conceptually—but in **practical, socio-economic** and political terms, also. That would require much research on Pakistan as

visualised by Allama Iqbal and the Quaid-e-Azam—i.e. on their socio-political and economic theories and those of Islam. **An Ideological State must be absolutely sure of its National Ideology, National Interests and National Policy**—and then formulate its national goals, planning and strategy, accordingly, in the persistent pursuit of these objectives.

For the time being, let us try to remember the basic political principles of Islam, for our general guidance to tide over transitional trials and interim tribulations. According to these, Islamic Democracy is qualitative, unlike western democracy, which is quantitative. The former is rule by the best—in the nation—and not just the ruling or majority party. It is rule by consent, consensus, conciliation, compromise and cooperation, rather than cut throat competition. Islamic Democracy insists on all-round voluntary self-reform, peaceful evolution and moral progress and transformation, and not class war, harked and bloody revolutions. It believes in moderation in all matters—in the middle path and the golden mean; and not in extremes and excesses. It is egalitarian and democratic, progressive and dynamic, marching with the times and in tune with the heart-beat of history. Only then can the claim that Islam is for all times, be justified. It aims at distributive justice in a truly just society, and at both political and economic democracy in an Islam Welfare State.

All this—especially the insistence on moderation, consensus and cooperation—by the best and in fact, by the entire dedicated and patriotic nation—points to a sharing of power and authority, responsibility and duty, both. And that is of the essence of a true federation and the principles of federalism.

This is best possible in an Islamic National Government by all the major national political parties—which unite on unselfish, broad-based, democratic, human, nationalistic and

ideological principles—upholding the basic Islamic Ideology of Pakistan—and not any petty, personal, partisan or parochial considerations. Such a national government is, thus, obviously poles apart from the notorious make-shift, short-lived, unstable coalition government of self-seekers hungry after personal power and aggrandisement, alone or essentially. Today the basic problem before Pakistan is of sheer **Survival** and not of party politics. Of socio-political and economic stability, and of national integration and security in an unstable region and destabilising times. If we don't wake up and do some quick, hard thinking, events might overtake/overpower us, God forbid! For the option open to us is no longer between evolution and revolution—but between two kinds of revolution: tragictraumatic or bloody and bloodless and peaceful. Time is fast running out even on this choice—because the revolutionary potential is ever-increasing in our unjust society of excesses and extremes, contrasts and contradictions, conflicts and confrontations.

The way out of our political confusion and instability, then, is the road to our Islamic Ideology—in fact, of Islam, itself. Islam as interpreted, practised and lived progressively, democratically—and not as sloganised. To repeat—this is the bitter lesson both of the **Bangla Desh** and of the **Bhutto** tragedies.

“One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history, it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not vice versa.”⁽¹⁾

“Nature has given you everything; you have got unlimited resources. The foundations of your State have been laid and it is now for you to build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you God-speed”!⁽²⁾

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1. *Allama Iqbal: Presidential Address, All-India Muslim League, Allahabad, 29th Dec., 1930.*
 2. *The Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, on the First Anniversary of Pakistan, 14th Aug., 1948, 1st. April, 1979 Rawalpindi.*

